A GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL DESCRIPTION OF ANCIENT...

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A

GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL

DESCRIPTION

OF

ANCIENT ITALY;

WITH

A MAP, AND A PLAN OF ROME.

BY

THE REV. J. A. CRAMER, M.A.

LATE STUDENT OF CHRIST CHURCH.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

Adde tot egregias urbes, operumque laborem,
Tot congesta manu præruptis oppida saxis:
Fluminaque antiquos præterlabentia muros.
GEORG. II. 155.

VOL. II.

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BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE ROMA

SECTION IX.

LATIUM.

The Sicani, Siculi, and Aborigines its earliest inhabitants—The Trojan colony—History of the Latins—Division of Latium into Antiquum and Novum, including the territories of the ancient Rutuli, Hernici, Volsci, Ausones, and Aurunci—Description—Roman ways.

THE earliest records of Italian history, as we are assured by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, (I. 9.) represented the plains of Latium as first inhabited by the Siculi, a people of obscure origin, but who would be entitled to our notice from the circumstance above mentioned, even had they not acquired additional historical importance from their subsequent migration to the celebrated island from thence named Sicily. It has been questioned however, and apparently on sufficient grounds, whether the statement of Dionysius, in regard to the first possession of Latium by the Siculi, be correct; for on their arrival in Sicily they are said to have found that island already occupied by the Sicani; who, as Thucydides relates, (VI. 2.) came originally from the banks of the river Sicanus in Spain[a], having been driven from their country by the Ligurians; and as it is not probable that this people crossed over directly from Spain to Sicily, we must admit, with Freret, that

Sicani.

[a] It is called Sicoris by others. (Servius ad Æn. VIII. 328.) and is generally supposed to be the *Segro* of modern geography.

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they likewise traversed Italy, and having gradually advanced towards the extremity of that country, finally passed into the adjacent island[b]. It is plain, however, from several passages in ancient writers, that the occupation of Italy by the Sicani was something more than a transient passage through that country. Virgil, who has mentioned this people several times, always speaks of them as one of the most ancient tribes of Italy, and seems to point out Latium as their place of abode during their stay in that country.

> Est antiquus ager Tusco mihi proximus amni,
> Longus, in occasum, fines super usque Sicanos.
> ÆN. XI. 316.
> Tum manus Ausoniæ et gentes venere Sicanæ.
> ÆN. VIII. 328.
> . . . . . Rutuli veteresque Sicani.
> ÆN. VII. 795.

Aulus Gellius also cites a passage from Phavorinus, in which the Sicani are noticed among the most early possessors of Latium; (I. 10.) and Pliny enumerates them with other ancient tribes belonging to that country which had in his day ceased to exist. (III. 5. Cf. Macrob. Saturn. I. 5. Amm. Marcell. XXX. 4.) Some authors, however, seem to have confounded them with the Siculi. (Solin. 7. Serv. ad Æn. VIII. 328.) But their authority is of little weight, and cannot outbalance the united testimony of Thucydides, Philistus, Diodorus Siculus, and others.

Siculi. Respecting the Siculi, it is not easy to ascertain

[b] Freret has shewn satisfactorily, that we must ascribe to the Sicanian colony the traces of Iberian customs and language which existed in Corsica in the time of Seneca, as that philosopher asserted. (Mem. de l'Acad. t. xviii. p. 78.)

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what was their origin, or the country which they occupied prior to their settlement in Italy. So remote indeed was the period of this event, that Dionysius appears to have considered them as settled there from time immemorial. (II. 1.) But this opinion is too unsatisfactory to allow the modern antiquary to acquiesce in it; accordingly we find many systems advanced by writers of that class respecting the origin of this ancient people. Olivieri[c] concluded that they came from Greece, because Ancona is said by Pliny to have been founded by the Siculi, while other writers expressly call it a Greek city. But it is much more probable that by the Siculi of Pliny we are to understand a Syracusan colony, of which Strabo makes mention, and to which Juvenal alludes, when he calls the city in question the Doric Ancona[d]. Freret, on the other hand, contended, that the Siculi were an Illyrian nation, who settled in Italy not long after the Liburni, a people of the same race[e], had established themselves in that country. This learned writer has not made us acquainted on what authority he grounded this assertion; but it is probable that he relied chiefly on a passage in Pliny, in which the Siculi are mentioned in conjunction with the Liburni, as having anciently possessed a considerable tract of country in the province which was afterwards called Picenum[f]: he might also be induced to think that his opinion derived some support from Ptolemy, who mentions the Siculiotæ as a people

[c] Dissert. sulla Fondazione di Pesaro. Hist. Letter. d'Italia, t. vi. p. 752.

[d] See vol. i. p. 281.

[e] Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscript. t. xviii. p. 76.

[f] See vol. i. p. 279.

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of Dalmatia. It would hardly be advisable, however, to adopt this opinion of Freret without further evidence, especially as it is found to be at variance with the express testimony of a writer whose authority, on matters connected with the history of Sicily, ought not to be hastily rejected, I mean that of Philistus of Syracuse, who, as Dionysius reports, (I. 22.) asserted, that the Siculi were Ligurians, and that having been driven from Italy by the Umbri and Pelasgi, they crossed over into Sicily. This is also the account which Silius Italicus has followed.

> Post dirum Antiphatæ sceptrum et Cyclopia regna,
> Vomere verterunt primum nova rura Sicani.
> Pyrene misit populos, qui nomen ab amne
> Ascitum patrio terræ imposuere vacanti.
> Mox Ligurum pubes, Siculo ductore, novavit
> Possessis bello mutata vocabula regnis. XIV. 33.

Not only, therefore, is the above notion of the origin of the Siculi preferable to that of Freret, as being grounded at least upon positive historical evidence, but as affording likewise as clear and intelligible a connection of events as we can hope to trace at so remote and obscure an epoch in the history of Italy.

There is no point so clearly established with respect to the Siculi as that of their having occupied, at a very early period, the Latin plains, and part of Etruria. Placed therefore on the western coast of Italy, their connection with Liguria may readily be conceived, while their Illyrian origin becomes proportionably improbable. On the same supposition likewise we can well understand how this people may have been driven south along the western coast

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by the combined forces of the Pelasgi and the Aborigines; but if we allow with Pliny that they had formed settlements on the Adriatic also, it will not be easy to conceive how a nation so largely disseminated and so firmly settled could have been expelled from Italy. It is evident also that the Siculi did not extend from sea to sea, as the Aborigines, their constant enemies, were placed between them and the Adriatic. Lastly, I may adduce, in confirmation of the Ligurian origin of the Siculi, a tradition recorded by Festus, which stated that the Sacrani, who are the same people as the Aborigines, expelled the Ligurians and the Siculi from the Septimontium, or Rome. (Fest. v. Sacrani.) Dionysius likewise mentions the Ligurians among the heterogeneous population of which the Roman nation was first composed[g]. (I. 89.)

Obscure and intricate as these questions which relate to the early occupation of Italy confessedly are, and of little importance in themselves, I think, however, the point which has just been discussed is not without interest, inasmuch as it relates to Latium in particular, and its language; for as the Siculi are said to have been long established in that part of Italy, it is not improbable that they contributed to the formation of the Latin tongue. This is a conjecture indeed which gains some strength from the little we are able to glean from ancient writers of the language which the Siculi carried with them into Sicily. The only words of their vocabulary with which we are acquainted are γέλα,

[g] Among the moderns, Bardetti contends strongly for the Ligurian origin of the Siculi. De' primi Abitatori dell' Italia, c. 10. art. 6.

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(Suid. et Steph. Byz. v. Γέλα.) μοῖτον, and λέπορις, (Varr. Ling. Lat. IV.) which, as these writers inform us, had respectively the same signification as the terms *gelu*, *mutuum*, and *lepus* in Latin, and are therefore clearly to be identified with them. From this little specimen we might not unfairly conclude that these early inhabitants of Latium had some influence over the character of its language; not that part, however, which may be called the Greek foundation of the Latin tongue, but rather its Celtic elements, if I may be allowed the expression[h]. We derive further proof of this fact from a passage in one of Plato's letters, where that philosopher laments the decline of the Greek language in Sicily, which he attributes to the increasing preponderance of the Phœnicians and Opici. (Ep. VIII.) By the latter it is most probable that the Siculi are signified; not that I would conclude from thence that they were the same people[i], but that their language was similar; and I think it evident, that in the time of Plato the Greeks included under the name of Opici both the Campanians and Latins. Aristotle certainly describes Latium as the country of the Opici; consequently we are at liberty to in-

[h] That there are several Celtic roots in the Latin language must be allowed, though it should still be a question to which of the primitive races of Italy we ought to refer them. If we admit that the Siculi were Celts, we must observe at the same time that their dialect was more ancient than that of the Ligurians properly so called, in whose nomenclature we find such terminations as *magus*, *dunum*, *celum*, common also to the Gauls and Germans, and apparently belonging to a less ancient period than the formation of the Latin dialect.

[i] Ryckius and Freret have both concluded from the passage in question that the Opici and Siculi were of the same race. De prim. Ital. Col. c. 1. Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscript. t. xviii. p. 280.

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fer, from the passage of Plato, that the language of the Siculi bore a considerable resemblance to the Latin tongue.

Ancient writers do not seem agreed as to the name of the people who compelled the Siculi to abandon Latium. Dionysius informs us, that Philistus ascribed their expulsion to the Umbri and Pelasgi. Thucydides refers the same event to the Opici; while Antiochus of Syracuse, a still more ancient writer, represents the Siculi as flying from the Œnotri. Notwithstanding this apparent discrepancy, it is pretty evident, that under these different names of Umbri, Opici, and Œnotri, the same people are designated whom Dionysius and the Roman historians usually term Aborigines. (Ant. Rom. I. 10.) Having already sufficiently treated of this ancient race under the head of Umbria, I shall content myself with referring the reader to the section which relates to that province, and pass on to trace rapidly the sequel of the history of Latium.

The Aborigines, intermixing with several Pelasgic colonies, occupied Latium, and soon formed themselves into the several communities of Latini, Rutuli, Hernici, and Volsci, even prior to the Trojan war and the supposed arrival of Æneas. Of that event it is scarce necessary for me to speak at length, since it has been already discussed by others as fully as the subject admits of[k]. The question indeed seems to resolve itself into this narrow compass. Are we to

[k] Ryckius, in his dissertation de primis Italiæ Colonis, c. 12. and Nardini, in the preface to his Roma Antica, have contended for the truth of the Trojan colony. On the opposite side of the question are Bochart ap. Ryck. loc. cit. Cluverius, Ital. Ant. II. p. 832. Gronovius, and others.

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form our notions of the Trojan prince by what we read concerning him in the Iliad? If so, we are there told plainly that Æneas and his descendants remained in possession of the Troad for many generations.

> Νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνείαο βίη Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει,
> Καὶ παῖδες παίδων, τοί κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται.
>
> Il. Υ. 307.

Cf. Hymn. ad Ven. v. 192. and Strabo XIII. 608. Consequently Homer himself furnishes the best argument against the colony of Æneas in Latium. If we are not to form our judgment from what is related of the son of Anchises in the Iliad, then he becomes a mere fictitious character, the reality of whose adventures cannot afford ground for historical discussion. Notwithstanding that Dionysius labours anxiously to prove the fact of the arrival of Æneas in Latium, he is obliged to confess that by the accounts of all the older historians, such as Hellanicus, Cephalo of Gergithus, and Hegesippus, the Trojan prince did not advance beyond Thrace, or the peninsula of Pallene. (Ant. Rom. I. 48 and 49.) I would not, however, go so far as some modern writers, who consider the story of the Trojan colony as an invention of the Romans to please Augustus: it is evident, from Dionysius's account, (I. 72.) that there were some traditions to this effect among the Greeks long before they knew any thing of Rome. There seems no objection, therefore, to our admitting the arrival of a chief called Æneas on the Latin coast, though he might neither be the son of Anchises, nor in any respect connected with Troy. If he came from the Thracian Ænea, as most accounts

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imply, the name of that city might have occasioned the error.

Various etymologies of the names of Latium and the Latins are to be met with in ancient writers; but I see no reason why they should not be derived from a chief called Latinus, of whom the Greeks seem to have heard, since he is mentioned by Hesiod in a passage already cited[1], though they were not acquainted with the Latins as a distinct people of Italy.

The name of Prisci Latini was first given to certain cities of Latium, supposed to have been colonized by Latinus Silvius, one of the kings of Alba, but most of which were afterwards conquered and destroyed by Ancus Martius and Tarquinius Priscus. (Liv. I. 3.) In the reign of Tarquinius Superbus, we find the Latin nation united under the form of a confederate republic, and acknowledging that ambitious prince as the protector of their league. (Liv. I. 50.) After the expulsion of the tyrant from Rome, we are told that the Latins, who favoured his cause, experienced a total defeat near the lake Regillus, and were obliged to sue for peace. (Dion. Hal. VI. 18.) According to this historian, the Latins received the thanks of the Roman senate, some years afterwards, for having taken no advantage of the disturbances at Rome, which finally led to the secession of the people to the Mons Sacer, and for having on the contrary offered every assistance in their power on that occasion; he adds also, that a perpetual league was formed at that time between the Romans and Latins. However, about 143 years afterwards, we find the latter openly rebelling, and

[1] See vol. i. p. 169.

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refusing to supply the usual quota of troops which they had agreed to furnish as allies of Rome. Their bold demand, which was urged through L. Annius Setinus, in the Roman senate, that one of the consuls at least should be chosen out of their nation, led to an open rupture. A war followed, which was rendered remarkable from the event of the execution of young Manlius by order of his father, and the devotion of Decius. After having been defeated in several encounters, the Latins were finally reduced to subjection, with the exception of a few towns, which experienced greater lenity, and Latium thenceforth ceased to be an independent state. (Liv. VIII. 14. Plin. XXXIV. 5.) At that time the rights of Roman citizens had been granted to a few only of the Latin cities; but, at a later period, the Gracchi sought to level all such distinctions between the Latins and Romans. This measure, however, was not carried. The Social war followed; and though the confederates were finally conquered, after a long and desperate contest, the senate thought it advisable to decree that all the Latin cities which had not taken part with the allies should enjoy the rights of Roman citizens. Many of these towns were, however, deprived of their privileges by Sylla; and it was not till the close of the republic that the Latins were admitted generally to participate in all the rights and immunities enjoyed by the Quirites[m]. (Suet. Cæs. 8. Ascon. Ped. in Pis. p. 490.)

The name of Latium was at first given to that portion of Italy only which extends from the mouth

[m] On the intricate subject of the Jus Latii and Jus Italicum, see Lips. in Tacit. Ann. XI. 24. Panvin. Comm. Reip. Rom. III. p. 329. and Spanhem. Orb. Rom. I. 16.

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of the Tiber to the Circæan promontory, a distance of about fifty miles along the coast; but subsequently this last boundary was removed to the river Liris, now *Garigliano*, whence arose the distinction of Latium Antiquum and Novum. (Strab. V. 231. Plin. III. 5.) At a still later period, the southern boundary of Latium was extended from the Liris to the mouth of the river Vulturnus and the Massic hills. I shall at present confine myself to the description of Latium Antiquum, which may be considered as bounded to the north by the Anio and the Tiber, the Latins being separated from the Sabines by the former river, and from the Tuscans by the latter; to the east and south-east by the river Ufens and the Volscian mountains, and to the west by the Tyrrhenian sea. Even in this narrow territory it will be observed that many tribes are included which were not originally incorporated into the Latin confederacy, and consequently did not offer sacrifice in common on the Alban mount, nor meet in the general assembly held at the source of the Aqua Ferentina: this has been done to avoid superfluous subdivisions. I purpose, however, still to retain the original name of each separate people, as it is better known as such in the Roman history, which alone gives an interest to what is otherwise insignificant and obscure.

In describing the towns and other sites of Latium, of which mention is made in ancient writers, I shall begin from the Tiber, as being the northern limit of that portion of Italy. At the mouth of this river stood the once celebrated town and harbour of Ostia[n], the Ostia.

[n] Cluverius conceives, with some degree of probability, that the name of Ostia was in the plural number, as being applied

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port of Rome; its name even now remains unchanged, though few vestiges are left of its ancient greatness. All historians agree in ascribing the foundation of Ostia to Ancus Martius, (Liv. I. 33. Dion. Hal. III. 44. Flor. I. 4. Eutrop. I. Cf. Polyb. VI. Frag. Strab. V. 231.) and Ennius, quoted by Festus.

> Ostia munita est—idem loca navibus pulchris
> Munda facit, nautisque mari quæsentibus vitam.

That it was a Roman colony, we learn from Flor. I. 4. Senec. I. 15. Tacit. Hist. I. 80. When the Romans began to have ships of war, Ostia became a place of greater importance, and a fleet was constantly stationed there to guard the mouth of the Tiber. (Liv. XXII. 11. and 27. XXIII. 38. and XXVII. 22.) It was here that the statue of Cybele was received with due solemnity by Scipio Nasica, whom the public voice had selected for that duty, as the best citizen of Rome. (Liv. XXIX. 14. Herodian. I.) In the civil wars, Ostia fell into the hands of Marius, and was treated with savage cruelty. (Liv. Epit. LXXIX.) Cicero, in one of his orations, alludes with indignation to the capture of the fleet stationed at Ostia by some pirates. (pro leg. Manil.) The town and colony of Ostia was distant only thirteen miles from Rome, but the port itself, according to the Itineraries, was at the mouth of the Tiber[o]. There is some difficulty, however,

to the Ostia Tiberina, as the Tiber divided itself into two branches near its entrance into the sea. Ital. Ant. II. p. 872.

[o] Unless it be thought with Vulpius, that the town and harbour, with all their dependencies, might occupy an extent of three miles along the river. Vet. Lat. lib. ii. c. 1. p. 136.

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in ascertaining the exact situation of the harbour, from the change which appears to have taken place in the mouth of the river during the lapse of so many ages. Even the number of its channels is a disputed point. Ovid seems to point out two.

> Ostia contigerat, qua se Tiberinus in altum
> Dividit, et campo liberiore natat.
>
> FAST. IV. 291.

> Fluminis ad flexum veniunt; Tiberina priores
> Ostia dixerunt, unde sinister abit.
>
> FAST. IV. 329.

But Dionysius, in his Periegesis, positively states that there was but one. This difference, however, may be reconciled, by supposing that in the geographer's time the right branch of the river might alone be used for the purposes of navigation, and that the other stream was too insignificant and shallow for the reception of ships of any size [p].

According to Plutarch, Julius Cæsar was the first who turned his attention to the construction of a port at Ostia, by raising there a mole and other works; but it was to the emperor Claudius that this harbour seems indebted for all the magnificence ascribed to it by antiquity. Suetonius, in his life of that prince, has given us a detailed account of the formation of this harbour, with its pharos. (c. 20. Cf. Dio. Cass. LX. Plin. XXXVI. 9. 15. and 40.)

[p] The two streams still exist; the left is called *Fiumara*; the right, on which the Portus Augusti was situated, is known by the name of *Fiumicino*. See a plan of this harbour, and the mouths of the river, in a dissertation of the Marchese Lucatelli on the port of Ostia. (Dissert. dell' Accad. di Cort. vol. vi. p. 24. and 25.) In the Tab. Theodos. there is also a representation of the port and its pharos.

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In the latter author there is a curious description of the attack and capture of a huge fish, which had entered the port during the time of its construction. (IX. 6.) Valerius Flaccus alludes likewise to this harbour.

> Non ita Tyrrhenus stupet Ioniusque magister
> Qui portus Tiberine tuos, claramque serena
> Arce Pharon princeps linquens, nusquam Ostia, nusquam
> Ausoniam videt.— ARGON. VII. 83.

It is generally supposed that Trajan subsequently improved and beautified the port of Ostia; but the only authority for such a supposition is derived from the Scholiast of Juvenal, in his commentary on the passage where that poet describes the entrance of Catullus into this haven.

> Tandem intrat positas inclusa per æquora moles,
> Tyrrhenamque Pharon; porrectaque brachia rursum
> Quæ pelago occurrunt medio, longeque relinquunt
> Italiam. Non sic igitur mirabere portus
> Quos natura dedit.— SAT. XII. 75.

It is not impossible, however, that the Scholiast might confound the harbour of Ostia with that of Centumcellæ, which was certainly a work of Trajan; and to which the medals of that emperor, with the representation of a port, are to be referred. In process of time a considerable town was formed round the haven, which was itself called Portus Augusti, or simply Portus: and a road was constructed from thence to the Capitol, which took the name of Via Portuensis. Ostia, as we have observed, attained the summit of its prosperity and importance under Claudius, who always testified a peculiar regard for this colony. (Suet. Claud. 20. and 25.) It seems to

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have flourished likewise under Vespasian, and even as late as the reign of Trajan; for Pliny the Younger informs us, when describing his Laurentine villa, that he derived most of his household supplies from Ostia [q]. In the time of Procopius, however, this city was nearly deserted, all its commerce and population having been transferred to the neighbouring Portus Augusti. The same writer gives a full account of the trade and navigation of the Tiber at this period: from him we learn that the island which was formed by the separation of the two branches of that river was called Sacra. (Rer. Got. I. Cf. Rutil. Itin.) Insula Sacra.

Tum demum ad naves gradior, qua fronte bicorni
Dividuus Tiberis dexteriora secat.
Lævus inaccessis fluvius vitatur arenis:
Hospitis Æneæ gloria sola manet. I. 169.

The salt marshes formed by Ancus Martius, at the first foundation of Ostia, (Liv. I. 33.) still subsist near the site now called *Casone del Sale*. Salinæ Ostienses.
The lake of Ostia, mentioned by Livy, (XXVII. 2.) is supposed to answer to the *stagno di Levante*. Lacus Ostiæ.
The Forum Aurelianum, or Prætorium of Vopiscus, (C. 1.) is said by some to have been erected on the spot where Æneas first landed; it is now called *Spiaggia d'Ostia* [r]. We are informed by Cicero (ad Att. XII. 23.) and Varro (R. Rust. III. 2.) that there were several villas in the environs of Ostia. Forum Aureliani postea Prætorium.

[q] The reader who is fond of ancient inscriptions will find a great number relative to the town and port of Ostia in the work of Vulpius. Among these, one is particularly worthy of notice, as giving a great idea of the wealth and prosperity of Ostia, from the number of its trade companies. Vet. Lat. l. xi. c. 7. p. 208.

[r] Vulp. Vet. Lat. vol. vi. p. 4.

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Laurentum.

Proceeding along the coast, we find at every step some ancient site to which the poetry of Virgil lends a never failing interest. Laurentum, the capital of Latinus, according to the opinion of the best topographers, must have stood about sixteen miles from Ostia, and near the spot now called *Paterno*[s].

Of the existence of this city, whatever may be thought of Æneas and the Trojan colony, there can be no doubt; without going so far back as to Saturn and Picus, it may be asserted that the origin of Laurentum is most ancient, since it is mentioned among the maritime cities of Latium, in the first treaties between Rome and Carthage, recorded by Polybius. (III. 22. and 24.) Though Laurentum joined the Latin league in behalf of Tarquin, and shared in the defeat of the lake Regillus, (Dion. Hal. V. 61.) it seems afterwards to have been firmly attached to the Roman interests. (Liv. VIII. 9.) Of its subsequent history we know but little, Lucan represents it as having fallen into ruins, and become deserted in consequence of the civil wars.

> Pulvere vix tectæ poterunt monstrare ruinæ
> Albanosque lares, Laurentinosque Penates
> Rus vacuum, quod non habitet, nisi nocte coacta,
> Invitus, questusque Numam jussisse, senatus.
>
> VII. 394.

(Cf. Dion. Hal. I. 45. Strab. V. 232. Plin. III. 5. Mel. II. 4.) At a later period, however, Laurentum appears to have been restored under the name of Lauro-Lavinium. A new city having been formed,

[s] Vulp. Vet. Lat. l. x. c. 1. Nibby, Viaggio Antiquario, vol. ii. p. 313. Cluverius and Holstenius were both mistaken in assigning to Laurentum the position of *San Lorenzo*.

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as it is supposed, by the union of Laurentum and Lavinium. This is proved by a passage in Frontinus, (de Col.) and Symmachus, (I. Ep. 65.) and numerous inscriptions collected by Vulpius[1]. The district of Laurentum must have been of a very woody and marshy nature. The Silva Laurentina is noticed by Julius Obsequens; (de Prod.) and Herodian (L. 1.) reports, that the emperor Commodus was ordered to this part of the country by his physicians, on account of the laurel groves which grew there; the shade of which was considered as particularly salutary. It was from this tree that Laurentum is supposed to derive its name. Silva Laurentina.

Laurus erat tecti medio in penetralibus altis,
Sacra comam, multosque metu servata per annos:
Quam pater inventam, primas cum conderet arces,
Ipse ferebatur Phœbo sacrasse Latinus,
Laurentesque ab ea nomen posuisse colonis.
ÆN. VII. 59.

The marshes of Laurentum were famous for the number and size of the wild boars which they bred in their reedy pastures.

Ac velut ille canum morsu de montibus altis
Actus aper (multos Vesulus quem pinifer annos
Defendit, multosque palus Laurentia) sylva
Pastus arundinea — ÆN. X. 707.

Nam Laurens malus est, ulvis et arundine pinguis.
HOR. SAT. II. 4.

Inter quæ rari Laurentem ponderis aprum,
Misimus, Ætola de Calydone putes.
MART. IX. EP. 49.

[1] Vet. Lat. l. x. c. 6.

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However unfavourable, as a place of residence, Laurentum may be thought in the present day, on account of the *malaria* which prevails there, it appears to have been considered as far from unhealthy by the Romans. We are told that Scipio and Lælius, when released from the cares of business, often resorted to this neighbourhood, and amused themselves by gathering shells on the shore. (Cic. de Orat. II. Val. Max. VIII. 8.) Pliny the Younger says Laurentum was much frequented by the Roman nobles in winter; and so numerous were their villas, that they presented more the appearance of a city than detached dwellings. Every lover of antiquity is acquainted with the elegant and minute description he gives of his own retreat. (II. Ep. 17.) The precise spot which should be assigned to this villa has been a subject of much dispute among topographers. Holstenius placed it at *Paterno*[u], but in this respect he was probably mistaken, as the generality of antiquaries consider the remains, which exist on that site, as those of Laurentum; besides, *Paterno* is at some distance from the sea, whereas Pliny's retreat was close to it. I would rather follow the opinion of Fabretti, Lancisi[x], and Vulpius[y], who fix the site of the villa at *la Piastra*, a hamlet nearly midway between Laurentum and Ostia.

Villa Laurentina Plinii.

Hortensius the celebrated orator, and the rival of Cicero, had also a farm in this neighbourhood, which from the description given of it by Varro, (R.

[u] Adnot. p. 174.

[x] Animadversiones in Plinianam villam nuper in Laurentino detectam. Romæ. 1714.

[y] Vet. Lat. l. x. c. 3. A more modern writer places it at *Palombara del Castel di Fusano*. Nibby, Viaggio Antiquario, t. ii. p. 305.

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Rust. III. 13.) must have been extensive and well stocked [z].

I now pass on to the city of Lavinium, said to have been founded by Æneas on his marriage with the daughter of Latinus: (Dion. Hal. I. 45. Liv. I. 1.) this story, however, would go but little towards proving the existence of such a town, if it were not actually enumerated among the cities of Latium, by Strabo and other authors, as well as by the Itineraries. Plutarch notices it as the place in which Tatius, the colleague of Romulus, was assassinated. (Vit. Romul.) Strabo mentions that Lavinium had a temple consecrated to Venus, which was common to all the Latins. (V. 232.) The inhabitants are termed by Pliny, (III. 5.) Laviniates Ilionenses. It has been stated, under the head of Laurentum, that Lavinium and that city were latterly united under the name of Lauro-Lavinium. Various opinions have been entertained by antiquaries relative to the site which ought to be assigned to Lavinium. Cluverius placed it near the church of *S. Petronella* [a]; Holstenius on the hill called *Monte di Levano* [b]; but more recent topographers concur in fixing it at a place called *Pratica*, about three miles from the coast [c]. Lavinium.

A little beyond this place we find a small stream now called *Rio Torto* [d], which probably answers to the celebrated Numicius of Virgil. Numicius fl.

[z] For an account of other villas, and some inscriptions relating to Laurentum, see Vulp. Vet. Lat. l. x. c. 3.

[a] Ital. Ant. ii. p. 894.

[b] Adnot. p. 175.

[c] Vulp. Vet. Lat. l. x. c. 1. Nibby, Viaggio Antiquario. t. ii. p. 265.

[d] Id. t. ii. p. 266.

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. . . . . jussisque ingentibus urguet Apollo
Tyrrhenum ad Thybrim, et fontis vada sacra Numici.
ÆN. VII. 241.

It was sacred, as we learn from Ovid, to the nymph Anna Perenna, supposed to be no other than the sister of Dido; who, after a strange succession of events, arrived in Latium from Carthage, and received divine honours as goddess of this rivulet.

Corniger hanc cupidis rapuisse Numicius undis
Creditur, et stagnis occuluisse suis.
Sidonis interea magno clamore per agros
Quæritur; apparent signa notæque pedum.
Ventum erat ad ripas; inerant vestigia ripis:
Sustinuit tacitas conscius amnis aquas.
Ipsa loqui visa est, placidi sum nympha Numici;
Amne perenne latens, Anna Perenna vocor.
FAST. III. 647.

Haud procul hinc parvo descendens fonte Numicus
Labitur, et leni per valles volvitur amne.
* * * *
Donec arenoso, sic fama, Numicius illam
Suscepit gremio, vitreisque abscondidit antris.
SIL. ITAL. VIII. 180.

Near the source of the Numicius was a grove consecrated to Æneas, under the title of Jupiter Indiges. (Liv. I. 1. Dion. Hal. I. 64. Plin. III. 5.)

Impiger Ænea volitantis frater amoris,
Troia qui profugis sacra vehis ratibus,
Jam tibi Laurentes assignat Jupiter agros:
Jam vocat errantes hospita terra Lares.
Illic sanctus eris, quum te veneranda Numici
Unda Deum cœlo miserit Indigetem.
TIBULL. II. ELEG. 5.

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Littus adit Laurens; ubi tectus arundine serpit
In freta flumineis vicina Numicius undis.
Hunc jubet Æneæ, quæcunque obnoxia morti,
Abluere — OVID. METAM. XIV. 598.

Beyond the Numicius we enter the territory of the ancient Rutuli, a small people, who, though perhaps originally distinct from the Latins, became subsequently so much a part of that nation, that it would be superfluous to notice them under a separate head. Their capital was Ardea, a very ancient city, which even laid claims to a Grecian origin, being founded, as tradition reported, by Danaë, the mother of Perseus. Rutuli. Ardea.

Protenus hinc fuscis tristis dea tollitur alis
Audacis Rutuli ad muros: quam dicitur urbem
Acrisioneïs Danaë fundasse colonis,
Præcipiti delata noto. Locus Ardea quondam
Dictus avis: et nunc magnum manet Ardea nomen.
ÆN. VII. 408.

Hence the boast of Turnus, that he could number Inachus and Acrisius among his ancestors. (Æn. VII. 372.) I shall not pretend to examine into the truth of that account, but we may rest assured that the origin of this city was most remote; for Strabo, without assigning any date to its foundation, calls it the ancient Ardea. (V. 228.) Pliny (III. 5.) and Mela (II. 4.) have improperly reckoned Ardea among the maritime cities of Latium; but Strabo (V. 232.) and Ptolemy (p. 66.) have placed it more correctly at some distance from the coast, though there must be an error in the number of stadia mentioned by the former, as the position of the ancient city is sufficiently marked by its ruins, which yet bear the name of Ardea, and are situated on a hill about three miles

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from the sea[e]; whereas the MSS. of Strabo read seventy stadia, which would amount to more than eight miles. We are also enabled to correct Strabo from his own statement in another place, where he says that Ardea was twenty miles from Rome. (V. 229.)

Though the early accounts of this ancient city are lost in obscurity, we are led to infer that it must have attained to a considerable degree of power and prosperity at a remote period; from the circumstance of its having mainly contributed to the foundation of Saguntum in Spain, a fact which we learn from Livy (XXI. 7.) and Silius Italicus.

> . . . . . misit largo quam dives alumno,
> Magnanimis regnata viris, nunc Ardea nomen.
>
> I. 291.

Of the period at which this migration took place we are not informed, but we may conjecture that it must have been before the Roman power became a subject of alarm to the surrounding states. The first mention which occurs of this city, in the history of Rome, is in the reign of Tarquinius Superbus. We are told it was during the siege of Ardea, which that king was carrying on, that the memorable circumstance occurred which led to his expulsion from the throne, and the consequent change of government at Rome. (Liv. I. 57. Dion. Hal. IV. 64.)

> Cingitur interea Romanis Ardea signis,
> Et patitur lentas obsidione moras.
>
> Ovid. Fast. II. 721.

[e] Vulp. Vet. Lat. l. vi. c. 1. p. 163. Nibby, Viaggio Antiquario, t. ii. p. 276.

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After this event the siege was raised, and a truce of fifteen years was agreed upon with the Romans. Nor is there any further mention of Ardea, except that the Ardeatæ are included in the early treaties between Rome and Carthage, as the allies of the former power, (Polyb. III. 22.) till the 309th year U. C. or sixty-four years after the events above mentioned; when the flagrant injustice of the Romans, in appropriating to themselves some lands on account of which a dispute had arisen between Ardea and Aricia, and had been referred to their arbitration by the contending parties, compelled the people of Ardea to renounce the friendship of Rome, and to take up arms. However, upon the promise of the senate that some compensation should be made at a future time, they appear to have desisted from all hostilities. Meanwhile, however, Ardea became the prey of internal dissension, the origin of which is related at length by Livy. (IV. 9.) According to that historian, the commons of Ardea retired in arms from the city; and with the assistance of the Volsci besieged the nobles, who in their turn sought the aid of Rome. The Volsci being blockaded in their camp, were defeated, and the differences in Ardea were amicably adjusted. The land which had been so unjustly taken from that city was restored, and the population, which had suffered considerable diminution during the civil tumults, was recruited by a colony.

Among the Triumviri appointed to lead the colony, we find the name of Menenius Agrippa: this distinguished individual and his colleagues, being too impartial in the division of lands to please the Roman people, they preferred to end their days in the colony which bore witness to their integrity and

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justice. (Liv. IV. 11.) The Ardeatæ had the honour of affording an asylum to Camillus in his exile, and under the conduct of that great man were enabled to render a signal service to the Romans in their utmost distress, if indeed we are to give credit to Livy's account of these transactions, first by defeating a large straggling party of Gauls who had advanced towards their city in quest of booty, (Liv. V. 45.) and afterwards by contributing greatly to the decisive victory which freed Rome from her most dangerous enemies. (Liv. V. 49.)

The Ardeatæ did not always, however, display the same zeal and constancy in the service of the republic. In the second Punic war, and at a time when the victories of Hannibal had exhausted the resources of the state, they refused to furnish any further supplies of men and provisions. Their city was therefore included in the vote of censure which the Roman senate afterwards passed on several refractory colonies. (Liv. XXVII. 9.) In the year 566 U. C. we find the senate removing to Ardea Minius Cerrinius Campanus, one of the chief persons implicated in the Bacchanial conspiracy and mysteries, with orders to the magistrates of that city to keep him in the closest confinement. (Liv. XXXIX. 19.) From a passage of Frontinus, (de Col.) it would seem that a second colony was sent to Ardea under the emperor Hadrian.

I must not omit to notice a remarkable fact which is mentioned by Pliny relating to this city. He states, (XXXV. 10.) that in his time some paintings[f]

[f] We should perhaps understand Pliny to mean that these paintings were anterior to the destruction of Rome by the Gauls, and to its consequent reconstruction.

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were to be seen there, which were more ancient than Rome, and though exposed to the air, the colouring remained as fresh as when they were first executed; he further quotes the lines which recorded the name of the painter.

Dignis digna loca picturis condecoravit
Reginæ Junonis supremæ conjugis templum,
Marcus Ludius Elotas Ætolia oriundus,
Quem nunc et post semper ob artem hanc Ardea laudat.

Another curious circumstance in the history of Ardea is recorded by Varro, who states that the era in which barbers were first introduced into Italy from Sicily was noted in the archives of that city. According to Varro, this epoch answered to the year 454 of Rome. (R. Rust. II. 2.) Strabo informs us, that the country about Ardea was marshy, and the climate consequently very unfavourable, (V. 22.) which is confirmed by Seneca (Ep. 105.) and Martial.

Ardea solstitio, Castranaque rura petantur,
Quique Cleonæo sidere fervet ager:
Cum Tiburtinas damnet Curiatius auras,
Inter laudatas ad Styga missus aquas.
IV. Ep. 60.

Notwithstanding the general unhealthiness of the situation, we hear of some Roman villas in this district, which, however, could only have been occupied in winter. One of them belonged to Pomponius Atticus, the great friend of Cicero. (Corn. Nep. vit. Att.[g]) Some warm springs, strongly impreg-

[g] Vulp. Vet. Lat. l. vi. c. 6.

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nated with sulphur, noticed by Vitruvius in the vicinity of Ardea, (VIII. 3.) still exist, under the name of *la Solforata*, near the *Torre di S. Lorenzo*, in the direction of Antium.

Castrum Inui.

Antiquaries are generally agreed in placing the Castrum Inui of Virgil (Æn. VI. 772.) near Ardea, but the exact situation of this ancient city is very uncertain. A modern writer on the topographical antiquities of Latium[h], however, remarks, that the name of *Incastro*, attached to the little stream near which the ruins of Ardea are situated, seems to preserve a memorial of the Castrum Inui. The authors who have made mention of this place, besides Virgil, are Silius Italicus,

> Sacra manus Rutuli, servant qui Daunia regna,
> Laurentique domo gaudent, et fonte Numici:
> Quos Castrum, Phrygibusque gravis quondam Ardea misit. VIII. 359.

and Martial, in a line already quoted,

> Ardea solstitio, Castranaque rura petantur.
> IV. Ep. 60.

Ovid also speaks of it, when describing the navigation of the Epidaurian serpent.

> . . . . . donec Castrumque, sacrasque
> Lavini sedes, Tiberinaque ad ostia venit.
> Metam. XV. 727.

Aphrodisium.

The position of the Aphrodisium, or temple of Venus, noticed by Strabo, (V. 232.) as being common to the Latins, is unknown. We may infer, however, from Pliny (III. 5.) and Mela, (II. 4.)

[h] Nibby, Viaggio Antiquario, t. ii. p. 268.

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that it was situated between Ardea and Antium. Strabo remarks, that the whole of the country which we have been traversing presented a desolate appearance, having never recovered from the ravages of the Samnites in one of their irruptions. (V. 232.)

We may now leave the coast, since what remains to be considered in that direction will be more conveniently examined in describing the country of the ancient Volsci. Proceeding therefore into the interior of Latium from Ardea, in a north-westerly direction, we find the ruins of Lanuvium, which still bears the appellation of *Civita Lavinia*, or *Città della Vigna*. The similarity of the two names has sometimes caused this city to be mistaken for Lavinium; but by the different positions of the two towns they are easily distinguished. Strabo informs us, that Lanuvium was situated to the right of the Appian way, and on a hill commanding an extensive prospect towards Antium and the sea. (V. 239.) If we are to believe Appian, (Civ. Bell. II. 20.) this city owed its origin to Diomed; but whatever claims that Grecian hero might lay to the foundation of other cities of Italy, we can hardly admit this story of Appian's without further confirmation. There is no very early mention of Lanuvium in the Roman history; but the title of "urbs fidelissima," given to it by Livy, (VI. 21.) indicates that it very soon sought the protection of the rising city. It is noticed, however, previous to this period, by the same author, as the place to which M. Volscius Fictor, whose false testimony had caused the banishment of Cæso Quinctius, retired into exile. (Liv. III. 29.) Lanuvium did not always remain attached

Lanuvium.

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to Rome, but took part in the Latin wars with the neighbouring cities against that power. The confederates were however routed near the river Astura, not far from Antium; (Liv. VIII. 13.) and this defeat was soon followed by the subjugation of the whole of Latium. Lanuvium seems to have been treated with more moderation than the other Latin towns; for instead of being punished, the inhabitants were made Roman citizens, and their privileges and sacred rights were preserved, on condition that the temple and worship of Juno Sospita, which were held in great veneration in their city, should be common to the Romans also. (Liv. VIII. 14.) Lanuvium then became a municipium; and it remained ever after faithful to the Romans, particularly in the second Punic war, as we learn from Livy (XXVI. 8.) and Sil. Italicus.

> Quos Castrum, Phrygibusque gravis quondam Ardea misit,
> Quos celso devexa jugo Junonia sedes
> Lanuvium. VIII. 361.
> Lanuvio generate, inquit, quem Sospita Juno
> Dat nobis, Milo, Gradivi cape victor honorem.
> XIII. 364.

When it received a Roman colony is not apparent, though we may conjecture, that, as it was exposed to the attack of Marius, (Epit. Liv. LXXX. App. Bell. Civ. I. 69.) it had been colonized a short time before by Sylla. This colony was afterwards reinforced by J. Cæsar, when dictator, (Front. de Col.) and appears to have continued in prosperity beyond the reign of Antoninus Pius,

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who seems to have been a peculiar patron of this city[i].

Lanuvium and its district had the honour of giving birth to several distinguished characters in the annals of Rome. T. Annius Milo, the antagonist of P. Clodius, was a native of Lanuvium, and was on his way there to create a priest, probably of Juno, in virtue of his office of dictator of the city, when he met Clodius on the Appian way, and the rencounter took place which ended in the death of the latter. (Cic. pro Mil. c. 10.) The famous comedian Roscius was likewise born near Lanuvium, as we learn from Cic. de Div. I. 36. and de Nat. Deor. I. 28. To these we may add Q. Catulus the elder, L. Muræna, whose cause was so ably advocated by Cicero, (Orat. pro Mur. in fin.) and P. Sulpicius Quirinius, better known to us as the Cyrenius of St. Luke's Gospel, who was proconsul of Syria. (Luc. c. 2. and Joseph. XVIII. 1. and 2. Tacit. Ann. III. 48.) We learn also from Jul. Capitolinus and Æl. Lampridius, that the three Antonines were born here.

The temple of Juno Sospita has been noticed already as being held in the highest veneration[k]. Near it was a sacred grove, said to be tenanted by a dragon, possessing the peculiar faculty of distinguishing ladies who were chaste from those of an opposite description. This we learn from Propertius (IV. Eleg. 8.)

> Lanuvium annosi vetus est tutela draconis,
> Hic ubi tam raræ non perit hora moræ,
> Qua sacer abripitur cæco descensus hiatu, &c.

[i] See the inscriptions collected by Vulpius, Vet. Lat. l. viii. c. 2. p. 22.

[k] Several Roman families

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and Ælian. (Hist. Anim. II. 16.) The latter, however, confounds Lanuvium with Lavinium.

Hence Ovid represents Juno as calling Lanuvium her own.

> Inspice, quos habeat nemoralis Aricia Fastos,
> Et populus Laurens, Lanuviumque meum:
> Est illic mensis Junonius. FAST. VI. 59.

Livy also mentions several prodigies which are said to have occurred in this temple. (XXI. XXIX. and XXXIII.)

Martius Collis.

We have yet to remark upon a few places in the immediate vicinity of Lanuvium. The Martius Collis, where Camillus defeated the Volsci, is a hill about five miles from that city, looking towards the sea and to the Pontine marshes, now called *Colle Marzo*[l]. (Plut. in Cam. and Diod. Sic. IV.) In Livy it is written ad Metium; but in other authors we find it ad Martium. (Liv. VI. 2.)

Tellenæ, Politorium.

Ficana.

Of Tellenæ and Politorium nothing certain can be affirmed, though it appears that they were situated not far from Lanuvium. Ficana was nearer to the Tiber. Livy informs us, that these towns were taken and destroyed by Ancus Martius. (I. 33. Dion. Hal. III. 38. Plin. III. 5.)

Solonius Campus.

The Campus Solonius, so often mentioned by Cicero, (Ep. ad Att. II. 3. de Div. I.) is placed by Vulpius between the Numicius and the Tiber[m]. This antiquary was unable to account for the origin of the name, as we do not hear of any town of the name of Solonium, from which Solonius would be

which derived their origin from Lanuvium, bore on their medals the effigy of Juno Sospita.

[l] Id. l. viii. 10.

[m] Vet. Lat. l. viii. c. 6. Vulp.

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formed, except in Dionysius, who speaks of an Etruscan city so called, from which Romulus received considerable aid in his war with the Sabines. (II. 37.) The commentators of this historian are of opinion, however, that for Solonium we should read Populonium, or Vetulonium; but neither of these corrections appear to me to be satisfactory, as both the Tuscan cities above named would be too remote from the scene of action to make this supposition probable. I should be rather inclined to acknowledge the existence of a town named Solonium, from which the Campus Solonius might have derived its appellation. We shall be the less disposed to dispute this opinion, if we reflect how little is known of what the Tuscans really possessed in Italy during the reign of Romulus. Some accounts represented the succours sent to that king of Rome as coming from Ardea, (Fest. v. Lucerenses.) a city which might very possibly be in the hands of the Etruscans at that period, together with the neighbouring town of Solonium.

A little to the west of Lanuvium, and nearer to Rome, stood the city of Aricia, a name which is but little altered in that of the modern *la Riccia*. According to Strabo, (V. 239.) Aricia was situated on the Appian way, but its citadel was placed on a hill above. The latter site answers to the position of the modern town. The distance of one hundred and sixty stadia, or twenty miles, which the same geographer reckons between Aricia and Rome, is too considerable; and we must rather follow Dionysius, who estimates the distance at fifteen miles. (VI. 32.) Cluverius[n] indeed allowed only thirteen; but as Phi- Aricia.

[n] Ital. Ant. II. p. 920.

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lostratus (Vit. Apoll. Tyan.) agrees in the same number with Dionysius, and the itineraries of Antoninus and Jerusalem even mark sixteen, I shall not hesitate to prefer the former calculation, especially as Holstenius, who is very accurate in measurements, is positive in laying it down as such[o]. That Aricia stood on the Via Appia, is also well known from the fifth Satire of Horace.

> Egressum magna me accepit Aricia Roma,
> Hospitio modico.

The origin of this city, which is apparently as ancient as any in Latium, is enveloped in too great mythological an obscurity to be now ascertained. Some have ascribed its foundation to a chief of the Siculi; (Sol. c. 13.) others to Hippolytus, who, under the name of Virbius, was worshipped, in common with Diana, in the vicinity of this town.

> At Trivia Hippolytum secretis alma recondit
> Sedibus, et Nymphæ Egeriæ nemorique relegat;
> Solus ubi in silvis Italis ignobilis ævum
> Exigeret, versoque ubi nomine Virbius esset.
>
> ÆN. VII. 774.

The name of Aricia often occurs in the history of Rome, and as early as the reign of Tarquinius Superbus. The enmity of that king against Turnus Herdonius, chief of this city, who had sought his alliance, and finally fell a victim to his treachery and ambition, is related at length by Livy. (I. 50. et seq.) From this story we learn that Aricia was

[o] Adnot. p. 185. See also D'Anville, Anal. Geogr. de l'Ital. p. 192. Vulp. Vet. Lat. l. xiii. l. Pratilli della Via Appia, l. i. p. 78.

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one of the confederate Latin towns which held council together at the Aqua Ferentina. It was some time after attacked by a detachment of Porsena's army, when that prince retired from Rome. This force, commanded by his son Aruns, was at first successful; but the Aricini having received succours from the neighbouring cities, and also from Cumæ in Campania, the Tuscans were finally defeated. This success was owing chiefly to the skill and bravery of Aristodemus, the Cumæan general, who slew the leader of the enemy with his own hand. Many of the fugitive Tuscans found shelter at Rome; and that portion of the city thence called Tuscus Vicus was assigned to them. (Liv. II. 14. Dion. Hal. V. 5.) Mention has been already made of the injustice committed by the Romans against the Aricini in their dispute with Ardea, in the description of the latter city. Nor do we hear of their making them any compensation afterwards; the Roman senate recollected probably that Aricia had been among the foremost of the Latin cities to espouse the cause of Tarquin. (Dionys. V. 5.) In the last Latin war, however, when defeated on the Astura, with the Lanuvini and Antiates, the people of Aricia seem to have been treated with greater indulgence than they might have expected, as they were from that time admitted to all the rights of Roman citizens. (Liv. VIII. 14. Vell. Paterc. I. 14.) From Frontinus we learn that Aricia was subsequently colonized by Sylla, a circumstance which exposed it to the hostile rage of Marius. (Liv. Epit. LXXX.) It must have been no mean city to merit the splendid character which Cicero gives of it in the third Phi-

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lippic: but it was perhaps enough that Antony affected to disparage the birthplace of Octavius' mother, for the orator to elevate it to the skies.

But what rendered this city more particularly celebrated throughout Italy was the worship of Diana, whose sacred temple, grove, and lake, lay at no great distance from thence. The latter is now known by the name of *Lago di Nemi*. Strabo tells us, that the worship of Diana resembled that which was paid to the same goddess in the Tauric Chersonese; and that the priest of the temple was obliged to defend himself by force of arms against all who aspired to the office; for whosoever could slay him succeeded to the dignity. (V. 239.)

Lacus Nemorensis.

> Ecce suburbanæ templum nemorale Dianæ,
> Partaque per gladios regna nocente manu.
>
> OVID. ART. AM. I. 259.

> Jamque dies aderat: profugis cum regibus altum
> Fumat Aricinum Triviæ Nemus, et face multa
> Conscius Hippolyti splendet lacus.
>
> STAT. SILV. III. 1.

This barbarous custom seems to have afforded a subject of diversion to Caligula. (Suet. Calig. 35.) In the same vicinity we hear of a town called Nemus, (Appian. Civ. Bell. V. 24. and Tacit. Hist. III. 36.) the inhabitants of which were called Nemorenses.

Nemus Dianæ.

> . . . . . Nemus hos glaciale Dianæ.
>
> STAT. SILV. IV. 4.

> Albanus lacus, et socii Nemorensis ab unda.
>
> PROPERT. III. ELEG. 22.

Hence Aricia itself is called Nemoralis.

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Parva, Mycenææ quantum sacrata Dianæ,
Distat ab excelsa Nemoralis Aricia Roma.
LUCAN. VI. 74.

Inspice, quos habeat Nemoralis Aricia fastos.
OVID. FAST. VI. 59.

The poets are full of allusions to the rites of Diana, and to the story of Hippolytus, or Virbius, and the nymph Egeria.

Ibat et Hippolyti proles pulcherrima bello,
Virbius: insignem quem mater Aricia misit,
Eductum Egeriæ lucis humentia circum
Litora, pinguis ubi et placabilis ara Dianæ.
ÆN. VII. 761.

Nympha, mone, Nemori stagnoque operata Dianæ;
Nympha, Numæ conjux, ad tua festa veni.
Vallis Aricinæ sylva præcinctus opaca
Est lacus, antiqua relligione sacer.
Hic jacet Hippolytus furiis direptus equorum, &c.
OVID. FAST. III. 261.

Lucus eum, Nemorisque tui Dictynna, recessus
Celat: Aricino Virbius ille lacu est.
OVID. FAST. VI. 755.

. . . . . Nam conjux urbe relicta
Vallis Aricinæ densis latet abdita sylvis:
Sacraque Oresteæ gemitu questuque Dianæ
Impedit. Ah quoties Nymphæ Nemorisque lacusque,
Ne faceret, monuere.
OVID. METAM. XV. 487.

Jam nemus Egeriæ, jam te ciet altus ab Alba
Juppiter, et soli non mitis Aricia regi.
VAL. FLAC. ARG. II. 304.

. . . . . quos miserat altis
Egeriæ genitos immitis Aricia lucis,
Ætatis mentisque pares; at non dabat ultra
Clotho dura lacus aramque videre Dianæ.
SIL. ITAL. IV. 368.

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The fountain of Egeria, mentioned by Strabo as supplying the lake of Diana, (V. 239.) in some of the passages above mentioned, must not be confounded with the fountain of the same nymph close to the Porta Capena.

The ascent to the temple was called Virbii Clivus, from the second name of Hippolytus, and appears to have been the great resort of beggars; to whom such a station would afford a good opportunity for importuning travellers and votaries.

> Dignus Aricinos qui mendicaret ad axes,
> Blandaque devexæ jactaret basia rhedæ.
> JUV. SAT. IV. 117.
> . . . . . accedo Bovillas
> Clivumque ad Virbi: præsto est mihi Manius hæres,
> Progenies terræ. PERS. SAT. VI. 56.
> Irus tuorum temporum sequebaris.
> Migrare Clivum crederes Aricinum.
> MART. XII. EP. 32.

The fertility and beauty of the country around Aricia seems to have been as great in former times as it is at the present day. Cicero affirms, that it might vie with the fairest spots of all Campania. (Orat. de Leg. Agr. II.) Among other natural productions, it appears to have been famous for leeks.

> Bruttia quæ tellus, et mater Aricia porri.
> COLUM. R. RUST. X.
> Mittit præcipuos Nemoralis Aricia porros.
> MART. XIII. EP. 19.

Cf. Plin. XVI. 6. Hor. II. Epist. 2.

Suetonius informs us, that Cæsar caused a villa to be erected in the vicinity of the *Lago di Nemi;*

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but when it was nearly completed, he ordered it to be pulled down again. (Cæs. 46.)

From Aricia we naturally pass on to Alba Longa, which was situated a short distance to the north of that city. Amidst the uncertainty which the claims to a Trojan origin have spread over the foundation of Alba, we may rest assured that it ought to be regarded as one of the most ancient towns of Latium; its position, overlooking the whole plain and a considerable extent of coast, would naturally attract the notice of the first settlers in that country, and hold out inducement for building. If a conjecture may be allowed on so obscure a point of history, I should imagine Alba to have been founded by the Siculi[P], and after the migration of that people, to have been occupied by the Aborigines and Pelasgi. This I think is to be collected from the account of Dionysius, (II. 2.) who tells us, that the Alban people were a mixture of Greek and other tribes. Alba Longa.

As Alba was entirely destroyed by Tullus Hostilius, (Liv. I. 29.) and no vestiges of it are now remaining, its exact position has been much discussed by modern topographers. If we take Strabo for our guide, (V. 229.) we shall look for Alba on the slope of the Mons Albanus, and at a distance of twenty miles from Rome. This position cannot evidently agree with the modern town of *Albano*, which is at the foot of the mountain, and only twelve miles from Rome. Dionysius also informs us, (I. 66.) that it was

[P] The word Alba appears to be of Celtic origin, for we find several towns of that name in Liguria and ancient Spain; and it is observed, that all were situated on elevated spots; from which circumstance it is inferred that Alba is derived from Alp. Bardetti dell. Ling. de' Prim. Abit. &c. p. 109.

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situated on the declivity of the Alban Mount, midway between the summit and the lake of the same name, which protected it as a wall. This description and that of Strabo agree sufficiently well with the position of *Palazzolo*, a village belonging to the *Colonna* family, on the eastern side of the lake and some way above its margin.

The Latin poets invariably ascribe the foundation of Alba to Ascanius, and derive its name from the white sow which appeared to Æneas on the Latin shore.

> Ex quo ter denis urbem redeuntibus annis
> Ascanius clari condet cognominis Albam.
>
> ÆN. VIII. 47.

> Et stetit Alba potens, albæ suis omine nata.
>
> PROPERT. IV. ELEG. 1.

> . . . . . Tum gratus Iülo,
> Atque novercali sedes prælata Lavino,
> Conspicitur sublimis apex; cui candida nomen
> Scrofa dedit. — JUV. SAT. XII. 70.

See also Varr. Rust. II. 4. and Aur. Vict. de Orig. Urb. Rom. Livy says it was called Longa, from its being extended along the slope of the Alban Mount. (I. 3.) What relates to the history of Alba after the foundation of Rome, its wars with that city, and its final destruction by Tullus Hostilius, are too generally known to be dwelt upon here, and will be found described in the first book of Livy.

Albanus Mons.

The Alban Mount itself, now called *Monte Cavo*, is celebrated in history from the circumstance of its being peculiarly dedicated to Jove, under the title of Latialis, as we learn from Lucan,

> Et residens celsa Latialis Jupiter Alba.
>
> I. 198.

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and Cicero, in that beautiful apostrophe to the same god, in his defence of Milo. (C. 31.) "Tuque ex "edito tuo monte, Latialis Sancte Jupiter, cujus ille "(Clodius) lacus, nemora, finesque sæpe omni nefa- "rio stupro et scelere maculârat; aliquando ad eum "puniendum oculos aperuisti." It was on the Alban Mount that the Feriæ Latinæ, or holydays kept by all the cities of the Latin name, were celebrated. This institution, according to Dionysius, dates from the reign of Tarquinius Superbus, who appointed the whole of the rites and ceremonies to be observed on that occasion. (IV. 49.) But Vulpius considers the origin of the sacrifices on the Alban Mount as much more ancient [q].

The Roman generals also occasionally performed sacrifices on this mountain, and received there the honours of the triumph [r]; some vestiges of the road which led to the summit of *Monte Cavo* are still to be traced a little beyond *Albano*.

> Quaque iter est Latiis ad summam fascibus Albam:
> Excelsa de rupe procul jam conspicit urbem.
>
> LUCAN. III. 87.

> At Juno ex summo, qui nunc Albanus habetur,
> (Tunc neque nomen erat, neque honos, aut gloria monti)
> Prospiciens tumulo, campum spectabat. —
>
> ÆN. XII. 134.

The Alban lake, which is doubtless the crater of an extinct volcano, is well known in history from

Albanus Lacus.

[q] For a full account of the Feriæ Latinæ, see Vulp. Vet. Lat. l. xii. c. 4.

[r] This appears to have occurred only five times, if we may credit the Fasti Capitolini, in which the names of the generals are recorded. Vulp. Vet. Lat. loc. cit.

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the prodigious rise of its waters, to such an extent indeed, as to threaten the whole surrounding country, and Rome itself, with an overwhelming inundation. The oracle of Delphi being consulted on that occasion, declared, that unless the Romans contrived to carry off the waters of the lake, they would never take Veii, the siege of which had already lasted for nearly ten years. This led to the construction of that wonderful subterraneous canal, or *emissario*, as the Italians call it, which is to be seen at this very day in remarkable preservation below the town of *Castel Gandolfo*. This channel is said to be carried through the rock for the space of a mile and a half, and the water which it discharges unites with the Tiber about five miles below Rome. (Cic. de Div. I. 44. Liv. V. 15. Val. Max. I. 6. Plut. vit. Camill.)

Near this opening are to be seen considerable ruins and various foundations of buildings, supposed to have belonged to the palace of Domitian, to which Martial and Statius frequently allude.

> Hoc tibi Palladiæ seu collibus uteris Albæ,
> Cæsar, et hinc Triviam prospicis, inde Thetin;
> Mittimus. — MART. V. EP. 1.

> Sed quis ab excelsis Trojanæ collibus Albæ,
> Unde suæ juxta prospectat mœnia Romæ,
> Proximus ille Deus. — STAT. SILV. V. 2.

The latter poet speaks of a villa of his at the foot of the Alban hills.

> . . . . . Dardaniæ quamvis sub collibus Albæ
> Rus proprium, magnique ducis mihi munere currens
> Unda domi curas mulcere æstusque levare
> Sufficerent. — SILV. III. 1.

It was to his Alban palace that Juvenal repre-

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sents Domitian as summoning the senate, for the purpose of debating on the mighty turbot which had just been brought to him.

> Surgitur; et misso proceres exire jubentur
> Concilio, quos Albanam dux magnus in arcem
> Traxerat attonitos, et festinare coactos.
>
> Juv. Sat. IV. 144.

Towards the close of the Roman republic, Alba, or rather Albanum, as it was then named, seems to have been a constant military station. It was occupied more especially by the Prætorian cohorts during the latter days of the empire. (Capitol. Maxim. Xiphilin. Elagab.)

Albanum Pompeii.

The Alban villa of Pompey the Great is often mentioned by Cicero: (Orat. pro Mil. and Orat. pro Rab. Ep. ad Att. VII. 5.) the modern town of *Albano* is supposed to occupy its place. Plutarch (vit. Pomp.) states, that his ashes were interred there by his wife Cornelia; and some persons have identified his tomb with the ruin which is more commonly but erroneously ascribed to the Horatii and Curiatii. The burial-place of these warriors, and the Fossa Cluilia, or camp of Cluilius, should not be sought for at a greater distance than five miles from Rome. (Dion. Hal. III. 4. Liv. I. 25.) The Alban soil was famous for its fertility, and its vines were held inferior only to those of the Falernian vineyards. (Dion. Hal. I. 66.)

> Est mihi nonum superantis annum
> Plenus Albani cadus. Hor. Od. IV. 11.

> Hic herus, Albanum, Mæcenas, sive Falernum
> Te magis appositis delectat; habemus utrumque.
>
> Sat. II. 8.

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Hoc de Cæsareis mitis vindemia cellis
Misit, Iuleo quæ sibi monte placet.
MART. XIII. EP. 109.

Athenæus mentions two sorts, one sweet and the other rough. (Deipnosoph. I.)

Bovillæ. I must now speak of the ancient town of Bovillæ, which stood on the Appian way between the ninth and tenth milestones, answering, according to the opinion of Holstenius[s], to the situation of the inn called *l'Osteria delle Frattochie.* We learn also from Martial that it was the first station on the Appian way.

Et cum currere debeas Bovillas,
Interjungere quæris ad Camœnas.
II. EP. 6.

It is distinguished from another town of the same name in Novum Latium by the title of Suburbanæ.

Orta suburbanis quædam fuit Anna Bovillis,
Pauper, sed mundæ sedulitatis, anus.
OVID. FAST. III. 667.

Quidve suburbanæ parva minus urbe Bovillæ.
PROPERT. IV. ELEG. 1.

Bovillæ was one of the first towns conquered by the Romans, according to Florus. (I. 11.) Plutarch (vit. Coriol.) says it was taken and plundered by Marcius Coriolanus. (Cf. Dion. Hal. VIII. 20.) We learn from Cicero that it was a municipium; (Orat. pro Plancio.) but he represents it as almost deserted. It was here that the rencounter took place between Milo and Clodius, in which the latter was slain. The circumstances are thus related by Appian: (Bell. Civ. II. 21.) "Clodius returning from his Alban villa,

[s] Adnot. p. 185. This has been confirmed by recent discoveries. See the Giorn. Arcad. di Roma.

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" met Milo near Bovillæ; they had passed each " other with angry looks, when a servant of Milo, " whether by his master's command, or to ingratiate " himself by the sacrifice of a man whom he knew to " be hateful to him, attacked Clodius, and wounded " him with his sword on the back part of the head. " Clodius was then carried bleeding to a public house " hard by, whither he was immediately followed by " Milo and his attendants, and presently despatched." (Cf. Cic. Orat. pro Mil.) Cicero, who makes light of a murder which with all his eloquence he was unable to justify, styles it, in a letter to Atticus, (V. 15.) " Pugna Bovillana." It is probable, from a passage of Frontinus, (de Col.) that Bovillæ was colonized by Sylla[t]. From Tacitus we learn that the Julian family had a chapel here, in which the effigies of its members were preserved, and that games were performed in their honour. (Ann. II. 41. and XV. 23.)

At no great distance from Bovillæ was the source of the Aqua Ferentina, distinguished in the early annals of Latium as the place where the confederate Latin cities assembled in public council. It exists at present in a woody dell under the town of *Marino*, and supplies that place with water. (Liv. I. 50. and 52.) Aqua Ferentina.

On the summit of the ridge of hills which forms the continuation of the Alban Mount, and above the modern town of *Frascati*, stood the ancient Tusculum. The numerous remains which exist there, and the name of *il Tuscolo*, still attached to the spot, leave no doubt of the fact[u]. Tusculum.

[t] For some remarkable inscriptions relating to this place the curious reader may consult Vulpius, Vet. Lat. l. xii. c. 9. p. 137.

[u] Holstenius would place Tusculum much nearer *Frascati*, but he is corrected by Fa-

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According to Dionysius (X. 20.) and Josephus, (Bell. Jud. XVIII. 8.) it was distant about one hundred stadia from Rome, or twelve miles and a half.

The foundation of this city is ascribed, I believe, invariably to Telegonus, the son of Ulysses and Circe.

> Inter Aricinos, Albanaque tempora constant
> Factaque Telegoni mœnia celsa manu.
>
> OVID. FAST. III. 91.

> Et jam Telegoni; jam mœnia Tiburis udi
> Stabant, Argolicæ quæ posuere manus.
>
> OVID. FAST. IV. 71.

> Nam quid Prænestis dubias, o Cynthia, sortes,
> Quid petis Ææi mœnia Telegoni?
>
> PROPERT. II. ELEG. 35.

> At Cato, tum prima sparsus lanugine malas,
> Quod peperere decus Circæo Tuscula dorso
> Mœnia, Laërtæ quondam regnata nepoti.
>
> SIL. ITAL. VII. 691.

> Linquens Telegoni pulsatos ariete muros,
> Haud dignam inter tanta moram.
>
> ID. XII. 535.

It would be useless to investigate the truth of such a tradition; it will be more to the purpose to state briefly what is to be learned from the different Roman authors relative to the fortunes of this town. It must have been one of the most considerable of the Latin cities in the time of the second Tarquin, since that prince is said to have sought the alliance of Octavius Mamilius, chief of Tusculum, and to have given him his daughter in marriage. (Liv. I. 49.)

bretti, and Vulpius, Vet. Lat. l. xii. c. 1. p. 18. See also Nibby, Viaggio Antiquario. t. ii. p. 43.

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By this measure Tarquin secured the cooperation of almost all the Latin cities in his subsequent attempt to recover the throne he had lost. In the war which ensued in consequence, the Tusculans took a leading part, and the battle of the lake Regillus, which was fought within their territory A. U. C. 255. was one of the most bloody and obstinate which is recorded in the annals of Rome. (Liv. II. 19. and Dion. Hal. VI. 4.) The Latins, however, met with a severe defeat, which for more than a century paralyzed all their efforts to check the growing power of Rome.

From that time we find the Tusculans no longer the enemies, but, on the contrary, the zealous and faithful friends of that city. When Appius Herdonius, with a body of slaves, surprised the Capitol, and threw Rome into the greatest consternation, the Tusculans, before their aid had been solicited, sent off a chosen force, commanded by L. Manilius their dictator, to the assistance of Rome, and by this timely succour greatly contributed to the recovery of the Capitol. (Liv. III. 18.) As allies of Rome, the Tusculans were exposed to the frequent attacks and incursions of the Æqui, who on one occasion even attempted the seizure of their citadel; but by the help of the Romans they were finally dislodged. (c. 23.) The territory of Tusculum seems to have been the constant scene of warfare, from its proximity to those restless enemies. On one occasion Tusculum having incurred the displeasure of Rome, was menaced with war, but by timely submission the threatened storm was averted, and it finally obtained the privileges of a Roman city. (Liv. VI. 26.) This town, not long after, fell into the hands of the confederate Latins; but the citadel having held out, the town itself was

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soon retaken by the Roman consul. (Liv. VI. 33.) The Tusculans, however, took a decided part in the last great Latin war, A. U. C. 415. but their rebellion does not appear to have been attended with any evil consequences to themselves, owing to the wise and generous policy of the Roman senate. It was for a duel with Geminius Metius, commander of the Tusculan horse, that young Manlius incurred the condemnation of his rigid parent. (Liv. VIII. 7.)

In the second Punic war, Tusculum successfully resisted the attack of Hannibal, and appears from that time to have remained in the undisturbed enjoyment of its rights and privileges. It could boast of having given birth to M. Porcius Cato, several of the Fabii, T. Coruncanius, Cn. Plancius, and other illustrious Romans, (Cic. de Leg. II. and Orat. pro Cn. Plancio.) Its proximity to Rome, the beauty of its situation, as well as the salubrity of its climate, made it a favourite summer residence with the wealthy Romans. Strabo, who has given a very accurate description of its position, says, that on the side towards Rome the hills of Tusculum were covered with plantations and palaces, the effect of which was most striking. (V. 239.) Of these villas, none can be so interesting to us as that of Cicero, so often mentioned in his works, and more particularly known from the beautiful moral Disputations which were probably written there, and which will ever remain a monument of his love for that chosen spot. To collect those passages of Cicero which have a reference to his Tusculan villa, would be to exceed the limits of this work; they will be found chiefly in the first book of his letters to Atticus, and in those addressed to his other friends and relations.

Villa Tusculana Ciceronis.

To this spot he returned with renewed delight after his exile, and lingered there till persecution forced him once more from his loved retreat.

It was for a long time supposed that Cicero's villa had been situated on the site of the present convent of the *Grotta Ferrata;* but later researches, I believe, have proved that it lay considerably higher up the hill, though the pleasure-grounds might extend to the Aqua Crabra, now *la Marana.* (De Leg. Agr. II. and Epist. ad Fam. XVI. 18.) Pliny says that this villa had belonged to Sylla before it came into the possession of Cicero. (XXII. 6.) Aqua Crabra.

It is known that Lucullus also had a palace and gardens at Tusculum, which were adorned with all that magnificence and luxury for which he was so famous. The space of ground which they covered was so extensive, that the gardens are supposed to have reached from the hills of Tusculum to the Anio, a distance of several miles, and yet so large a portion was allotted to buildings, that the censors, according to Pliny, (XVIII. 6.) observed in their report, "that there was more work for the broom "than for the plough." Tradition has attached the name of this celebrated Roman to some large vaulted ruins close to the *Villa Ludovisi,* above *Frascati.* Plutarch, in the life of Lucullus, dwells at length on the sumptuous manner in which he entertained his friends here. Varro (R. Rust. III. 2. and 4.) and Columella (III. 3.) expatiate on his aviaries, parks, and vast fish-ponds.

That Mæcenas also had a villa[x] at Tusculum we learn from Horace:

[x] For a further account of the Tusculan villas, see Vulpius, Vet. Lat. l. xiv. c. 5.

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Nec ut superni villa candens Tusculi
Circæa tangat mœnia. EPOD. I.

Nec semper udum Tibur, et Æsulæ
Declive contempleris arvum, et
Telegoni juga parricidæ. III. OD. 29.

Rome was supplied with a great abundance of water from the Ager Tusculanus. The Aqua Tepula, now *Tepiduccia*, was brought from that place to the Capitol A. U. C. 627, by the censors Cæpio and Longinus, and subsequently by M. Agrippa, together with the Aqua Virgo, now *Aqua Vergine*. (Frontin. de Aquæd. Rom.)

Regillus Lacus.

The Lacus Regillus, before mentioned as the scene of a great battle between the Romans and Latins, is thought to be *il Laghetto della Colonna*, near the small town of that name. The authors who have noticed the Lacus Regillus are, Cic. de Nat. Deor. II. and III. Plin. XXXIII. 6. Val. Max. I. 8. and Flor. IV. 2. The Mons Porcius, so called probably from the family of that name, is still known as the *Monte Porzio*.

Algidum.

I must now speak of Algidum, so often mentioned in the early wars of Rome as a favourite station of the Æqui, in their predatory incursions on the Roman territory. We are to distinguish, however, between the Mons Algidus and the town of Algidum. The latter, according to Strabo, (V. 237.) was an insignificant place on the Via Latina, and situated in a hollow. Antiquaries seem to agree in fixing

Algidus Mons.

its position at *l'Osteria dell Aglio*[y]. The Mons Algidus appears to be that chain which stretches from the rear of the Alban Mount, and is parallel

[y] Holsten. Adnot. p. 158. Vulp. Lat. Vet. l. xv. c. 1. p. 248. Nibby, Viaggio Antiquario, t. ii. p. 62.

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to the Tusculan hills, being separated from them by the valley along which run the Via Latina. It is not my object to detail the numberless conflicts which took place in this neighbourhood between the Roman armies and their unwearied antagonists the Æqui and Volsci;

> Scilicet hic olim Volscos Æquosque fugatos
> Viderat in campis, Algida terra, tuis.
> OVID. FAST. VI. 721.

but it will be seen from the map how advantageously Mount Algidus was placed for making inroads on the Roman lands from thence, either by the Via Latina or by the Via Lavicana. The woods of the bleak Algidus are a favourite theme with Horace,

> Vos lætam fluviis, et nemorum coma,
> Quæcunque aut gelido prominet Algido,
> Nigris aut Erymanthi
> Silvis, aut Viridis Cragi. I. OD. 21.
>
> Nam, quæ nivali pascitur Algido
> Devota, quercus inter et ilices,
> Aut crescit Albanis in herbis
> Victima. III. OD. 23.
>
> Duris ut ilex tonsa bipennibus
> Nigræ feraci frondis in Algido,
> Per damna, per cædes, ab ipso
> Ducit opes animumque ferro. IV. OD. 4.

and Statius,

> Algidus aut horrens, aut Tuscula protegit umbra.
> SILV. IV. 4.

It was consecrated to Diana,

> Quæque Aventinum tenet Algidumque,
> Quindecim Diana preces virorum
> Curet. HOR. CARM. SÆC. 69.

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and to Fortune. (Liv. XXI. 62.) Martial speaks of some villas in the vicinity of Mount Algidus.

> Nec Tusculanos Algidosve secessus,
> Præneste nec sic Antiumve miratur.
>
> X. Ep. 30.
>
> . . . . . nec amœna retentant
> Algida. Sil. Ital. XII. 536.

Corbio. Corbio, which is mentioned by Livy as being in this district, (II. 39. and III. 66.) is thought to be Arx Carventana. *Rocca Priora*[z]. The Arx Carventana of the same historian (IV. 53. and 55.) was probably situated on one of the summits of Algidus.

Returning to Tusculum, and descending to the plain, somewhat to the north-west, and beyond the little river Veresis, (Strabo V. 239.) now *l'Osa*, we Gabii. must look for the site of the ancient Gabii. Strabo (V. 237.) mentions that it was on the Via Prænestina, and about 100 stadia from Rome. Dionysius gives the same distance; (IV. 53.) and Appian places it midway between Rome and Præneste. (Bell. Civ. V. 23.) The Itineraries reckon twelve miles from Rome to this town. These data enabled Holstenius and Fabretti to fix the position of Gabii with sufficient accuracy at a place called *l'Osteria del Pantano*[a]; and this opinion was satisfactorily confirmed by the discoveries made here in 1792, under the direction of Gavin Hamilton, on an estate of prince Borghese, known by the name of *Pantano dei Griffi*[b].

[z] Holsten. Adnot. p. 162. Nibby, Viaggio Antiquario, t. ii. p. 60.

[a] Holsten. Adnot. p. 198. Vulp. Vet. Lat. lib. xvii. c. 1.

[b] Visconti Monumenti Gabini. Roma, 1792. See also Nibby, Viaggio Antiquario, t. i. p. 235.

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Gabii is said to have been one of the numerous Latin colonies founded by Alba; (Dion. Hal. IV. 53.)

> Hi tibi Nomentum, et Gabios, urbemque Fidenam,
> Hi Collatinas imponent montibus arces.
>
> Æn. VI. 773.

and an obscure tradition represented it as the place in which Romulus and Remus were brought up. (Dion. Hal. I. 84. Plut. Vit. Romul. Diocl. Pepar. ap. Fest.)

Perhaps Horace alludes to this story, when he says to Florus,

> Si quis forte velit puerum tibi vendere natum
> Tiburo vel Gabiis, &c. II. Epist. 2.

The artful manner in which Tarquinius Superbus obtained possession of Gabii, after he had failed in the attempt by force of arms, is well known, as recorded by Livy. (I. 58. et seq. and Dion. Hal. IV. 53.) I shall only observe, with regard to the advice said to have been given by Tarquin to his son Sextus, for reducing the citizens of Gabii under his power, that Herodotus tells a similar story, with but slight variations, of Periander and Thrasybulus, tyrants of Corinth and Miletus. (V. 92.) The same account is given by Val. Max. (VII. 4.) and also by Ovid.

> Ultima Tarquinius Romanæ gentis habebat
> Regna; vir injustus, fortis ad arma tamen.
> Ceperat hic alias, alias everterat urbes;
> Et Gabios turpi fecerat arte suos.
>
> Fast. II. 687.

The treachery of Sextus Tarquin did not remain unpunished; for after the expulsion of his family

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from Rome, he fell at Gabii a victim to his tyranny and oppression. (Liv. I. 60.) According to the same historian, the Gauls received their final defeat from Camillus near this city. (V. 49.) From Cicero it may be collected that Gabii was a municipium; (Orat. pro Planc.) and we learn from several inscriptions that it was also a colony. This town suffered so much during the civil wars that it became entirely ruinous and deserted.

. . . . . Gabios, Vejosque, Coramque
Pulvere vix tectæ poterunt monstrare ruinæ.
LUCAN. VII. 392.

Scis Lebedus quam sit Gabiis desertior atque
Fidenis vicus. HOR. I. EPIST. 11.

Quippe suburbanæ parva minus urbe Bovillæ;
Et, qui nunc nulli, maxima turba Gabi.
PROPERT. IV. EL. 1.

Hujus qui trahitur prætextam sumere mavis;
An Fidenarum, Gabiorumque esse potestas?
JUV. SAT. X. 100.

Quis timet, aut timuit gelida Præneste ruinam;
Aut positis nemorosa inter juga Volsiniis; aut
Simplicibus Gabiis. JUV. SAT. III. 189.

. . . . . cum jam celebres notique poëtæ
Balneolum Gabiis, Romæ conducere furnos
Tentarent. JUV. SAT. VII. 4.

We learn, however, from several monuments discovered in the excavations mentioned above, that Gabii was raised from this state of ruin and desolation under Antoninus and Commodus, and that it became a thriving town[c].

In its more flourishing days, Juno seems to have been held in peculiar honour at Gabii, and the re-

[c] Visconti Monumenti Gabini.

mains of her temple are said to be still visible on the site of that city[d].

. . . . . quique arva Gabinæ
Junonis, gelidumque Anienem, et roscida rivis
Hernica saxa colunt. ÆN. VII. 682.

. . . . . nec amœna retentant
Algida, nec juxta Junonis tecta Gabinæ.
SIL. ITAL. XII. 536.

The Cinctus Gabinus was a peculiar mode of folding or girding the toga, in order to give more freedom to the person when in motion. The Gabini are said to have adopted it on a particular occasion, when hurrying to battle from the sacrifice. So says Servius, in a note to this fine passage of Virgil.

Ipse, Quirinali trabea cinctuque Gabino[e]
Insignis, reserat stridentia limina consul.
ÆN. VII. 612.

A little to the north of Gabii was Collatia, a co- Collatia.
lony of Alba likewise, and rendered celebrated in the Roman history by the sacrifice of the chaste Lucretia. (Liv. I. 58.)

Hi Collatinas imponent montibus arces.
ÆN. VI. 774.

. . . . . altrix casti Collatia Bruti.
SIL. ITAL. VIII. 363.

Though Collatia might have been a town of note at this early period, yet in the time of Strabo it appears to have been little more than a village. (V. 229.) Pliny also speaks of it as a Latin town, of

[d] Nibby, Viaggio Antiquario, t. i. p. 236.

[e] See also Ferrarius de Re Vestiariâ Antiquorum.

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which no vestiges remained. (III. 5.) According to an Italian writer, who is perfectly acquainted with the ancient topography of Latium, some slight remains of Collatia are still to be traced on a hill, which from thence has obtained the name of *Castellaccio*[f]. The road which led from Rome to this town was called Via Collatina. (Front. de Aquæd. Rom. I.)

Tibur.

Tibur, now so well known as *Tivoli*, and so interesting to the traveller and painter, must terminate our description of Latium to the north; for here we find the Anio, which forms its boundary of separation from the Sabine country. Dionysius of Halicarnassus states that Tibur was originally a town of the Siculi, the most ancient inhabitants of Latium; and as a proof of this fact, he mentions that the name of Sicelion was still attached to a portion of that city. (I. 16.) Tibur, however, lays claim to a more illustrious, though a later origin, having been founded, according to some authors, by Catillus, an officer of Evander, while others pretend that this Catillus was a son of Amphiaraus, who, with his two brothers, migrated to Italy, and having conquered the Siculi, gave to one of their towns the name of Tibur, from his brother Tiburtus. From this account of Solinus, (c. 8.) as well as that of Dionysius, we may collect that Catillus was one of the Pelasgic chiefs, who, with the assistance of the Aborigines, formed settlements in Italy. It may be observed, that the Greek writers call this town τὰ Τίβουρα. (Strab. V. 238. Artemid. Geogr. ap. Steph. Byz.) The Latin poets have not omitted to assert the Greek origin of Tibur.

[f] Nibby, Viaggio Antiquario, t. i. p. 240.

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Tum gemini fratres Tiburtia mœnia linquunt,
Fratris Tiburti dictam cognomine gentem,
Catillusque, acerque Coras, Argiva juventus.
ÆN. VII. 670.

Tibur Argeo positum colono
Sit meæ sedes utinam senectæ;
Sit modus lasso maris, et viarum,
Militiæque. HOR. II. OD. 6.

Et jam Telegoni; jam mœnia Tiburis udi
Stabant, Argolicæ quod posuere manus.
OVID. FAST. IV. 71.

Nec te prætereo, qui, per cava saxa volutans,
Tiburis Argei spumifer arva rigas.
OVID. AMOR. III. EL. 6.

Hic tua Tiburtes Faunos chelys, et juvat ipsum
Alciden, dictumque lyra majore Catillum.
STAT. SILV. I. 3.

The antiquity of Tibur being sufficiently established, we may now proceed to state briefly the chief circumstances which connect it with the Roman history. Little is known of this town during the first ages of Rome; but it may be conjectured that the Tiburtini joined the other Latin cities in their endeavours to replace Tarquin on his throne, and to check the ambition of the Romans; but these attempts, however, proved unsuccessful, and they were forced to submit to the yoke, under the specious title of friends and allies. From a remarkable inscription found many years ago, it appears that they were accused on one occasion of having committed depredations on the Roman territory, but that they succeeded in clearing themselves from that charge. The monument records the satisfaction of the Roman senate at being able to absolve

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them[5]. Subsequently, however, they did not fear incurring the displeasure of their powerful neighbours by the assistance they openly afforded to the Gauls in their inroads into Latium. (Liv. VII. 11.) In the war which ensued, they even ventured to attack Rome itself. (c. 12.) Often defeated, they as often renewed the war, till they were completely overthrown at Pedum, and finally reduced to subjection by Camillus. (Liv. VIII. 13.) We read in Livy of their rendering, not long after, a service to their conquerors, when the Roman pipers, from some cause of displeasure, with one accord retired to Tibur. The Tiburtini were desired to send these men back to Rome, as no sacrifice could be performed without them. The magistrates of Tibur readily acceded to this request; and in order effectually to secure these deserters, they reduced them to a state of inebriation, and conveyed them during the night in carts to Rome. When they awoke the next morning, they found themselves in the Roman Forum. (Liv. IX. 30.) This circumstance is also related by Ovid.

Exilio mutant urbem, Tiburque recedunt.
Exilium quodam tempore Tibur erat!
Quæritur in scena cava tibia, quæritur aris;
Ducit supremos nænia nulla choros.

Fast. VI. 665.

And a few lines further,

Alliciunt somnos tempus, motusque, merumque;
Potaque se Tibur turba redire putat.
Jamque per Esquilias Romanam intraverat urbem;
Et mane in medio plaustra fuere Foro.

[5] See Vulp. Vet. Lat. l. xviii. c. 2. p. 61.

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The reason why these people retired to Tibur more particularly, is evident from the second line of the above passage, and from Polybius, who mentions it as one of those cities which afforded an asylum to Roman fugitives. (VI. 14.) Many instances of this fact may be adduced. M. Claudius, the tool of Appius the decemvir, (Liv. III. 58.) Cinna the consul, (App. Bell. Civ. l. 65.) and Brutus and Cassius, after Cæsar's murder[h], retreated there; and Ovid says,

> Quid referam veteres Romanæ gentis, apud quos
> Exsilium tellus ultima Tibur erat?
>
> PONTIC. I. ELEG. 3.

From what period Tibur enjoyed the rights of a Roman city is not precisely known; but we have reason to believe that it was anterior to the civil wars of Marius and Sylla. The latter indeed is said to have deprived the Tiburtini of these privileges, from a suspicion of their having favoured his adversary; but they regained them upon his abdication, (Cic. pro domo.) and they were confirmed by the emperor Claudius. (Suet. Claud.) There are several inscribed monuments extant, bearing decrees of the Senatus Populusque Tiburs, which prove that Tibur was a municipal town, under laws and government of its own[i].

Hercules was the deity held in greatest veneration at Tibur; and his temple, on the foundations of which the cathedral of Tivoli is said to be built, was famous throughout Italy. (Strab. V. 238.) Hence the epithet of Herculean given by the poets to this city.

[h] So says Vulpius, but he does not give his authority. Vet. Lat. l. xviii. c. 2. p. 84.

[i] Vulp. Vet. Lat. l. xviii. c. 3.

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Curve te in Herculeum deportant esseda Tibur?
PROPERT. II. ELEG. 32.

Quosque sub Herculeis taciturno flumine muris
Pomifera arva creant Anienicolæ Catilli.
SIL. ITAL. IV. 224.

Itur ad Herculei gelidas qua Tiburis arces.
MART. I. EP. 13.

Tibur in Herculeum migravit nigra Lycoris.
MART. IV. EP. 62.

Venit in Herculeos colles: quid Tiburis alti
Aura valet? MART. VII. EP. 12.

Nec mihi plus Nemee, priscumve habitabitur Argos,
Nec Tiburna domus, solisque cubilia Gades.
STAT. SILV. III. 3.

Tutela Rhodos est beata solis,
Gades Herculis, uvidumque Tibur.
VIT. EPIGR.

Suetonius mentions that Augustus used frequently to administer justice in the porticoes of this temple. (Aug. 72.) Appian talks of its treasury, (Bell. Civ. V. 24.) and Aulus Gellius of its library. (XIX. 5.) The Sibyl of Tibur is well known; but whether the beautiful little ruin which has so long borne her name was really a temple consecrated to her or to Vesta, is a question which I shall not pretend to decide. I shall only observe, that Varro, as quoted at length by Lactantius, (de Falsa Rel. I. 6.) gives a list of the ancient sibyls; and among these enumerates that of Tibur, surnamed Albunea, as the tenth and last. He further states, that she was worshipped at Tibur, on the banks of the Anio. The word Sibylla, according to the same author, is framed from the Greek θεοβούλη, which in the Æolic dialect is σιοβύλη. The whole passage is curious,

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and well worthy of being read. Suidas also says, Δεκάτη ἡ Τιβουρτία ὀνόματι Ἀλβουναῖα; which evidence, coupled with the "Domus Albuneæ resonantis" of Horace, are urged, together with tradition, and I really think with reason, in favour of the Sibyl's claim to the little temple. Vulpius, who has treated the question at length, is one of her warmest advocates[k]; but I cannot admit that the passage in Virgil,

. . . . . lucosque sub alta
Consulit Albunea; nemorum quæ maxima sacro
Fonte sonat, sævamque exhalat opaca Mephitim.
ÆN. VII. 82.

confirms the supposition. The spot alluded to by the poet is the sulphureous source, which falls into the Anio a few miles from Tivoli, and is visited by travellers for the sake of viewing its floating islands. It is called Albula by Martial.

Aquæ Albulæ.

Itur ad Herculei gelidas qua Tiburis arces,
Canaque sulphureis Albula fumat aquis.
Rura, nemusque sacrum, dilectaque jugera musis
Signat vicina quartus ab urbe lapis. I. EP. 13.

Hence the epithet of "sulphureous," given to the Anio itself.

Præceps ad ripas immani turbine fertur,
Sulphureis gelidus qua serpit leniter undis
Ad genitorem Anio, labens sine murmure, Tibrim.
SIL. ITAL. XII. 538.

The hero Tiburnus was also revered at Tibur, and

[k] Vet. Lat. l. xviii. c. 5. Nibby thinks, however, that it was a temple of Vesta, Viaggio Antiquario, t. i. p. 157.

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had a grove consecrated to him on the banks of the Anio.

Me nec tam patiens Lacedæmon,
Nec tam Larissæ percussit campus opimæ,
Quam domus Albuneæ resonantis,
Et præceps Anio, et Tiburni lucus, et uda
Mobilibus pomaria rivis. HOR. I. OD. 7.

Illis ipse antris Anienus fonte relicto,
Nocte sub arcana glaucos exutus amictus,
Huc illuc fragili prosternit pectora musco:
Aut ingens in stagna cadit, vitreasque natatu
Plaudit aquas: illa recubat Tiburnus in umbra,
Illic sulphureos cupit Albula mergere crines.
STAT. SILV. I. 3.

Tibur was a favourite spot with all who had taste and refinement in the Augustan age. The ruins of Mæcenas's villa, still extant, prove that it must have been a stately pile, and nobly situated.

Nec semper udum Tibur, et Æsulæ
Declive contempleris arvum, et
Telegoni juga parricidæ.
Fastidiosam desere copiam, et
Molem propinquam nubibus arduis.
HOR. III. OD. 29.

Whether Horace himself had a villa near Tibur is doubtful, though Suetonius, in the Life of that poet, affirms that he possessed a house there; tradition has attached his name to some ruins now visible near the little convent of *Sant' Antonio*, on the right bank of the Anio, and nearly opposite to the *Cascatelle*. That he was a passionate admirer of the scenery of Tibur is not to be questioned; but when there, he

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may have been a guest of Mæcenas; and the expression of

Satis beatus unicis Sabinis II. Od. 18.

would certainly lead us to suppose that he possessed only one estate. It may not be unacceptable to the reader, to see collected those passages of the poet which allude to his residence at Tibur, or which describe the beauty of its scenery.

Vester, Camœnæ, vester in arduos
Tollor Sabinos: seu mihi frigidum
Præneste, seu Tibur supinum,
Seu liquidæ placuere Baiæ. III. Od. 4.

. . . . . ego apis Matinæ
More modoque
Grata carpentis thyma per laborem
Plurimum, circa nemus uvidique
Tiburis ripas, operosa parvus
Carmina fingo. IV. Od. 2.

Sed quæ Tibur aquæ fertile præfluunt,
Et spissæ nemorum comæ,
Fingent Æolio carmine nobilem. IV. Od. 3.

. . . . . Mihi jam non regia Roma,
Sed vacuum Tibur placet, — I. Epist. 7.

Horace informs us that Quintilius Varus had a villa at Tibur, and this account is confirmed by the existence of some ruins on the right bank of the Anio, to which tradition has attached the name of *Quintigliolo.*

Nullam, Vare, sacra vite prius severis arborem
Circa mite solum Tiburis, et mœnia Catili.
I. Od. 18.

Here Cynthia likewise, to whom Propertius of-

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fered his vows, and whose real name was Hostia, enjoyed the pleasures of retirement, as we learn from that poet;

> Nox media, et dominæ mihi venit epistola nostræ,
> Tibure me missa jussit adesse mora,
> Candida qua geminas ostendunt culmina turres,
> Et cadit in patulos lympha Aniena lacus.
>
> III. Eleg. 16.

and where he speaks of the grave of his love.

> Pelle ederam tumulo, mihi quæ pugnante corymbo
> Mollia contortis alligat ossa comis.
> Ramosis Anio qua pomifer incubat arvis,
> Et nunquam Herculeo numine pallet ebur;
> * * * *
> Hic Tiburtina jacet aurea Cynthia terra:
> Accessit ripæ laus, Aniene, tuæ. IV. Eleg. 7.

Nor must I omit the mention of two illustrious captives of Rome, who both terminated their existence on the banks of the Anio at distant periods of time—the Numidian Syphax, and Zenobia queen of Palmyra.

The former is said to have been removed from Alba on the Fucine lake, and after gracing the triumph of his victor, to have retired to Tibur, where he ended his days. (Liv. XXX. 45. Polyb. Frag. XVI. 23.[1]) The latter, according to Trebellius Pollio, (in Zen.) had an abode assigned to her near Hadrian's villa, where she lived as a Roman matron with her children.

Villa Hadriani.

The vast mass of buildings which Hadrian erected at the foot of the Tiburtine hills, and the ruins of which covering an area of nearly six miles in circuit,

[1] For a curious inscription relative to Syphax see Burton's Antiquities of Rome, p. 570.

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are still the wonder of every traveller who visits *Tivoli*, need not here be dwelt upon, as their description belongs rather to the department of the local antiquary. We learn from Ælius Spartianus, that Hadrian, who had travelled much, was desirous of bringing together in one view a representation of every edifice of celebrity which he had visited in the different provinces of his empire. According to this idea he formed the plan of his Tiburtine villa, in which the buildings of Athens were mingled with those of Egypt; and the infernal regions had a place marked out for them as well as the abodes of the blessed [m].

I shall now close this account of the Tiburtine villas with some extracts from the elegant little poem of Statius, on the retreat of his friend Vopiscus.

Cernere facundi Tibur glaciale Vopisci,
Si quis, et inserto geminos Anienc penates,
Aut potuit sociæ commercia noscere ripæ, &c.

* * * *

Ingenium quam mite solo! quæ forma beatis
Arte manus concessa locis! non largius usquam
Indulsit natura sibi. Nemora alta citatis
Incubuere vadis, fallax responsat imago
Frondibus, et longas eadem fugit umbra per undas.
Ipse Anien (miranda fides) infraque, superque
Saxeus; hic tumidam rabiem, spumosaque ponit
Murmura, ceu placidi veritus turbare Vopisci
Pieriosque dies, et habentes carmina somnos.

* * * *

Hic æterna quies, nullis hic jura procellis,
Nusquam fervor aquis. Datur hic transmittere visus,
Et voces, et pene manus. — SILV. I. 3.

[m] The reader who desires a full description of these ruins will find it in Vulpius, Vet. Lat. l. xviii. c. 11. and in Nibby, Viaggio Antiquario, t. i. p. 120.

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Some ruins, overhanging the river near the Sibyl's grotto, are pointed out as the former residence of Vopiscus.

It has been doubted by some writers whether there was always a fall of the Anio at *Tivoli*, but without pretending to examine what change the bed of that river may have undergone in remote ages [n], we may affirm that since the days of Strabo no alteration of consequence has taken place; for that geographer (V. 238.) talks of the cataract which the Anio, then navigable, formed there; so also Dionysius, (V. 37.) beside several of the poets, from whom I have already quoted largely.

The Anio formerly was made to contribute water for the supply of the Capitol itself. This was first effected, as Frontinus informs us, by M. Curius Dentatus the censor, A. U. C. 471. who defrayed the expenses of the undertaking with the spoils of Pyrrhus. This aqueduct was called Anio Vetus. The Anio Novus, or Aqua Claudia, was an improvement upon these old works, made under the reign of Claudian. But of all the waters which were introduced into Rome from a distance, none could be compared with the Aqua Martia, which has been already noticed as coming from the Fucine lake. (Strabo, V. 241.) It emerged from the ground, according to Frontinus, near the thirty-sixth milestone of the Via Valeria, whence it was conveyed in pipes to Tibur.

> Teque per obliquum penitus quæ laberis amnem
> Martia, et audaci transcurris flumina plumbo.
>
> STAT. SILV. I. 3.

[n] The curious fact of the wheel imbedded in the rock above the grotto of Neptune, is a positive proof that the river once reached that height.

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And it was thence carried by alternate aqueducts and pipes to Rome, which it entered near the Porta Tiburtina [o].

Among the Roman families which derived their origin from Tibur, may be remarked that of Munatius Plancus, whose tomb is yet seen near the Pons Lucanus on the Anio, and of whom Horace says,

> . . . . . sic tu sapiens finire memento
> Tristitiam, vitæque labores
> Molli, Plance, mero: seu te fulgentia signis
> Castra tenent, seu densa tenebit
> Tiburis umbra tui. I. Od. 7.

of Coponius, governor of Judæa; (Cic. pro Balbo. and Joseph. Ant. Jud. XVIII. 1.) and Rubellius Blandus. (Tacit. Ann. VI. 45.)

The air of Tibur was reckoned remarkably bracing and healthy, and was said to have the peculiar property of blanching ivory.

> Quale micat, semperque novum est, quod Tiburis aura
> Pascit, ebur — Sil. Ital. XII. 229.

> Lilia tu vincis, nec adhuc delapsa ligustra,
> Et Tiburtino monte quod albet ebur.
> Mart. VIII. Ep. 28.

The soil, though not very rich, was noted for the variety of its productions. Its orchards are praised by more than one writer: (Col. R. Rust. II. Plin. XVII. 16.) and particular mention is made of its grapes and figs. (Plin. XIV. 3. and XV. 18.) The Tiburtine stone, now called *Travertino*, was in great use among the Romans. The quarries from which it was drawn were close to the Anio, and that river

[o] See vol. i. p. 237.

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afforded a ready conveyance for it to the Capitol. (Strab. V. 238.)

Some few places of less importance yet remain to be noticed in the vicinity of Tibur.

Empulum. Empulum, mentioned by Livy as a fortress of the Tiburtine, (VII. 18.) is supposed with great probability to be a ruin called *Ampiglione*, about three

Saxula. miles to the east of *Tivoli* [p]. Saxula, another small town belonging to Tibur, (Liv. VII. 19.) is placed

Æsula. by Nibby near *Castel Madama* [q]. Æsula, mentioned by Horace in the same line with Tibur,

> Nec semper udum Tibur, et Æsulæ
> Declive contempleris arvum. III. Od. 29.

is naturally supposed to have stood in the vicinity of that town. Vell. Paterculus reckons Æsulum among the colonies of Rome; (I. 14.) but it is probable we ought to read Asculum. Pliny enumerates Æsula among the Latin towns, which no longer existed in his time. (III. 5.) This ancient site remains undiscovered [r].

We now proceed to inquire into the history of a city which is scarcely inferior in interest to Tibur

Præneste. itself, I mean the ancient Præneste, now *Palestrina*. According to Strabo, it was situated at about two hundred stadia from Rome, or twenty-five miles; the Itineraries, however, allow only twenty-three miles, which is the real number. Strabo also reckons the distance between Tibur and Præneste at one hundred stadia, or twelve miles and a half. The same author describes it as having a citadel remarkable

[p] Vulp. Vet. Lat. l. xviii. c. 17. Nibby, Viaggio Antiquario, t. i. p. 184.

[q] Id. t. i. p. 185.

[r] Vulp. Vet. Lat. l. xviii. c. 17. p. 555.

from its strength of position. It stood on the brow of a lofty hill, which overhung the city, and was cut off from the prolongation of the chain, by a narrow slip of inferior elevation. This rock, he adds, was perforated by art in various directions, both for the purpose of procuring water, as well as for secret escape. (V. 239.) Hence Virgil justly points to the loftiness of its situation.

> Quique altum Præneste viri, quique arva Gabinæ
> Junonis, gelidumque Anienem, et roscida rivis
> Hernica saxa colunt: — ÆN. VII. 682.

The origin of this most ancient city, like that of many of the ancient towns of Italy, is fabulous. Some ascribed it to Cæculus the son of Vulcan; as Virgil,

> Nec Prænestinæ fundator defuit urbis,
> Vulcano genitum pecora inter agrestia regem
> Inventumque focis omnis quem credidit ætas,
> Cæculus. ÆN. VII. 678.

others, to a chief of the name of Prænestus, grandson of Ulysses and Circe. (Zenodot. Trœzen. ap. Steph. Byz.) Strabo, however, tells us more plainly, that it claimed a Greek origin, and had been named formerly Πολυστέφανος. (V. 238.) Pliny also observes, that it was once called Stephane. (III. 5.) We may infer from Dionysius, (I. 31.) that Præneste was afterwards colonized by Alba; it shared the fate of the other Latin towns, in becoming subject to Rome, upon the failure of the attempts made in common to assist the family of Tarquin. (Liv. II. 19.) Subsequently we find the Prænestini oftener uniting with the Volsci and other enemies, in their attacks on Rome, than remaining firm in their allegiance to

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that power. (Liv. VI. 27.) They were defeated, however, by T. Quintius Cincinnatus near the river Allia, and eight of their towns and castles fell into the victor's hands, when they thought proper to submit. (Id. VI. 29.) Again they revolted, and were again conquered by Camillus. (Id. VIII. 13.)

In the war which was afterwards waged by Pyrrhus against the Romans, we find that prince, after his first victory, advancing rapidly towards the capital, and reconnoitering its situation from the towers of Præneste; which, if Florus be correct, must therefore have fallen into his hands. (I. 18.) His progress, however, was soon checked, and he retreated into Campania. (Eutrop. II.) In the second Punic war, the soldiers of Præneste gave a signal proof of their courage and fidelity in the defence of Casilinum, which they garrisoned when it was besieged by Hannibal; they held out to the last extremity, and at length made an honourable surrender. (Liv. XXIII. 17. 19.)

The strength of Præneste rendered it a place of too great importance to be overlooked by the contending parties of Sylla and Marius. It was induced to join the cause of the latter by Cinna, and during the short success which that faction obtained, was its strongest hold and support. But on the return of Sylla from the war against Mithridates, Præneste had soon reason to repent the part it had taken. The younger Marius, defeated by that victorious commander, was soon obliged to take refuge within its walls; and when all attempts on the part of his confederates failed in raising the siege, he preferred to die by the sword of one of his own soldiers, than fall into the hands of his adversaries. Præneste was com-

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pelled to yield to the victors, who did not fail to satisfy their thirst for vengeance, by a bloody massacre of the unfortunate inhabitants, and the entire plunder of their town; which finally was sold by auction. (App. Civ. Bell. I. 94. Plut. Vit. Sylla. Flor. III. 21.)

> . . . . . Vidit Fortuna Colonos
> Prænestina suos cunctos simul ense recisos,
> Unius populum pereuntem tempore mortis.
>
> LUCAN. II. 193.

It survived, however, these disasters, and, as it would seem, gathered strength from a colony of those very troops which had been so instrumental in hastening its downfall.

Even Sylla himself, as if to make some atonement for his cruelty, employed himself in repairing and embellishing one of its public edifices, the famous temple of Fortune, a goddess whose protection he especially acknowledged. Præneste was again threatened in the tumult which was excited by the seditious Catiline; but, as he himself boasts, was saved by the vigilance and foresight of Cicero. (Cat. I. 3.) In the wars of Antony and Octavian it was occupied by Fulvia, wife of the former, and became the chief hold of that party. But it does not appear to have suffered much in these contests. We frequently hear in Cicero of games being celebrated at Præneste: (Pro Planc. ad Att. XII. Ep. 2.) and in Nero's reign an insurrection was apprehended among the gladiators, of whom a large body was always exercised there. (Tac. Ann. XV. 46.)

But the pride and boast of Præneste was the temple of Fortune, which has been already alluded to. Both historians and poets make mention of its ce-

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lebrity, as well as of the magnificence of its structure; and the plans which have been made out of this fabric, in its original state, from the researches of modern antiquaries, are calculated to inspire high notions of its extent and splendour. Cicero, in his treatise on Divination, (II. 41.) alludes more than once to the antiquity of the Oracle, known by the name of the Prænestinæ sortes; and relates, that when the celebrated Carneades came to Rome and visited Præneste, he was heard to declare he had never seen a more fortunate Fortune than the goddess of that city. From this anecdote it is evident that this temple was much more ancient than the time of Sylla, who has been erroneously supposed by some to have erected it; and this is further confirmed also by a passage in Valerius Maximus; in which it is stated, that C. Lutatius the consul, who conquered the Carthaginians at the Ægades, in the naval action which decided the first Punic war, was prevented from consulting the oracle of Præneste, by the declaration of the senate, that the state was to be guided by its own, and not by foreign auspices. (I. 4.) Livy tells us, that Prusias, king of Bithynia, came to Prænestе with his son Nicomedes, to offer sacrifice to Fortune. (XLV. 44.) The veneration in which this temple was held, is also apparent from the privilege which it enjoyed of affording an asylum to criminals and fugitives. (Polyb. VI. 11.) Sylla, however, certainly beautified the edifice; for Pliny says, the first mosaic pavement (lithostrota) introduced into Italy, was made by order of that general for the temple of Fortune at Præneste. (XXXVI. 25.)

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Whether the famous *Barberini* pavement, which undoubtedly was taken from the ruins of this building, be the same as that of Sylla, is very doubtful; as this is a vast and highly finished work, which does not betoken, as the passage of Pliny would imply, the first dawning, but the perfection of the art. Those who ascribe it to Sylla, explain the various designs depicted on it, as representing the accidents of good and evil fortune. Some consider it as describing the procession of Alexander the Great to the temple of Jupiter Hammon. Others, perhaps with greater probability, believe that it was executed as late as the reign of Hadrian, and represents the travels of that emperor in Egypt, to which country the various scenes which it exhibits belong [s].

I shall now subjoin those passages of the Latin poets which connect this temple with the history of Præneste.

. . . . . sacrisque dicatum
Fortunæ Præneste jugis. SIL. ITAL. VIII. 366.

. . . . . sacro juvenes Præneste creati.
Occubuere simul: votisque ex omnibus unum
Id Fortuna dedit, junctam inter prœlia mortem.
ID. IX. 404.

Sextus Junonis mensis fuit. Aspice Tibur,
Et Prænestinæ mœnia sacra Deæ.
OVID. FAST. VI. 61.

Ædificator erat Centronius, et modo curvo
Littore Caietæ, summa nunc Tiburis arce,
Nunc Prænestinis in montibus, alta parabat

[s] Suaresii Antiquit. Prænest. Vulp. Vet. Lat. l. xvi. c. 6. Fea è Petrini Mem. di *Palestrina*, Roma, 1795. Nibby, Viaggio Antiquario, t. i. p. 294.

Culmina villarum, Græcis longeque petitis
Marmoribus, vincens Fortunæ atque Herculis ædem;
Juv. Sat. XIV. 86.

The latter quotation would prove that the district of Præneste was resorted to by those who sought for the quiet and retirement of the country. The coolness of its temperature is noticed by Horace.

. . . . . seu mihi frigidum
Præneste, seu Tibur supinum,
Seu liquidæ placuere Baiæ. III. Od. 4.

That he sometimes made it his abode appears from one of his Epistles.

Trojani belli scriptorem, maxime Lolli,
Dum tu declamas Romæ, Præneste relegi.
I. Epist. 2.
Quis timet, aut timuit gelida Præneste ruinam.
Juv. Sat. III. 190.

Suetonius tells us, that Augustus often made excursions from Rome to Præneste, but generally employed two days in journeying thither. (August. 27.) It may be worth while to mention, that Ælian, the writer of the History of Animals in Greek, was a native of Præneste, as we learn from Suidas. He flourished about the time of Hadrian.

Among the productions of the territory of Præneste none are so often remarked as its walnuts. (Cat. R. Rust. c. 8.) Hence the Prænestini are sometimes nicknamed Nuculæ, especially by Cicero, who quotes Lucilius as his authority for so doing. (de Orat. II. and Phil. VI.) But Festus accounts for the name in another manner; he says, the Prænestini were so called from their countrymen having subsisted on walnuts when besieged in Casilinum.

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It may be observed, that the Prænestini appear to have had some peculiarities of idiom which distinguished them from their neighbours. This is seen from Festus. (v. Tammodo. Plaut. Truc. Act. III. Sc. 2. and Quinctil. Inst. I. 5.)

Sacriportus, the place where the decisive action between the armies of Sylla and Marius the younger took place, must have been near Prænestе; but nothing has been determined respecting its precise situation. (Flor. III. 21. Liv. Epit. LXXXVII. Appian. Civ. Bell. I. 87. and Lucan. II. 134.) Sacriportus.

Jam quot apud Sacri cecidere cadavera portum.

The little town of *Poli*, situated in the mountains between *Tivoli* and *Palestrina*, is generally thought[t] to answer to the ancient Bola, enumerated by Virgil among the colonies of Alba. Bola.

Hi Collatinas imponent montibus arces,
Pometios, Castrumque Inui, Bolamque Coramque.
ÆN. VI. 774.

Bola is mentioned by Dionysius as one of the towns taken by Coriolanus, in his invasion of his country. (Dion. Hal. VIII. 18. Plut. vit. Coriol.) Livy seems to ascribe it to the Æqui. (IV. 49.)

Pedum is another town often named in the early wars of Rome, and which must be placed in the vicinity of Prænestе. The modern site of *Zagarolo* seems best to answer to the data which are supplied by Livy respecting the position of this ancient town. For, according to this historian, (VIII. 11.) Pedum was situated between Tibur, Prænestе, Bola, and Pedum.

[t] Vulp. Vet. Lat. l. xvi. c. 11. Nibby, Viaggio Antiquario, t. i. p. 261.

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Labicum[n]. (Cf. Dion. Hal. VIII. 19. Plut. vit. Coriol.) It was taken by storm and destroyed by Camillus. (Liv. VIII. 13.) Horace mentions the regio Pedana in one of his Epistles.

> Albi, nostrorum sermonum candide judex,
> Quid nunc te dicam facere in regione Pedana?
> I. Epist. 4.

Scaptia. Scaptia, which gave its name to a Roman tribe, is placed by Cluverius at *Passerano*. We only know that it stood near Pedum. (Fest. v. Scaptia.) Pliny says, no vestige of it remained in his time. (III. 5.)

Labicum. Advancing from Præneste towards Algidum, we must endeavour to discover the position of Labicum, which has given rise to great discussion among those who have written on the ancient topography of Latium. Before I proceed, however, to examine their opinions, I shall cite a passage from Strabo, on which the whole question may be said to turn. Describing the Via Labicana, which took its name from the city now under consideration, he says, that "it commenced from the Esquiline gate, as does also the "Via Prænestina; when, leaving this road and the "Campus Esquilinus to the left, it proceeds for one "hundred and twenty stadia and upwards, till it "draws near to the ancient Labicum, situated on "an eminence, but now in ruins. Leaving this "place and Tusculum to the right, it joins the Via "Latina near the inn ad Pictas, which is two hun-"dred and ten stadia from Rome." (Strab. V. 237.) It is clear, therefore, that we must look for this an-

[n] Nibby, Viaggio Antiquario, loc. cit.

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cient site between the Via Prænestina and the Via Latina, and about fifteen miles from Rome. It cannot be *Zagarolo*, as Cluverius imagined[x]; for that place would be to the left of the Via Labicana, and it exceeds considerably the distance required. For similar reasons we are prevented from adopting the opinion of Ficoroni, who, in a dissertation expressly written on this subject, places Labicum on a hill called *li Quadri*, in the district of *Lugnano*[y]. Holstenius, after a careful examination of the direction and track of the Via Labicana, and an exact measurement of distances, decides, that the height on which the modern town of *Colonna* stands, is the situation formerly occupied by Labicum[z]; and his opinion is strengthened by the discovery of several inscriptions near *la Colonna*, in which mention is made of Labicum.

Another distinguished antiquary, however, has subsequently endeavoured to prove that *Monte Compatro*, a hill somewhat to the right of *Colonna*, is the site of this ancient town[a]; but this conjecture seems hardly admissible, for it would scarcely leave any interval between the territories of Labicum and Tusculum, which appear, however, from all accounts, to have been sufficiently extensive. It will be safer, therefore, to adopt the opinion of Holstenius, which has obtained the sanction of nearly all the best informed writers on the antiquities of Latium[b].

[x] Ital. Ant. II. p. 947.

[y] Memorie del primo e secondo Labico. Roma. 4to.

[z] Adnot. p. 194.

[a] Capm. de Chaupy, Decouv. de la Mais. de Camp. d'Horace, t. ii. p. 168.

[b] Vulp. Vet. Lat. l. xv. c. 5. Fabretti de Aquæduct. Dissert. III. D'Anville, Mem. sur l'éten-

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In the opinion of Virgil, Labicum existed before the foundation of Rome, since he represents its warriors as joining the army of Turnus.

> Auruncæque manus, Rutuli, veteresque Sicani,
> Et Sacranæ acies, et picti scuta Labici.
>
> ÆN. VII. 795.

According to Dionysius, (VIII. 19.) it was a colony of Alba; but no further mention of it is made in history before the time of Coriolanus, who is represented by Livy (II. 39.) and Plutarch (Vit. Coriol.) as having taken this city, with many others. Soon after, however, it joined the Æqui in some incursions, and was again conquered and sacked. The senate of Rome then sent a colony there, A. U. C. 336. (Liv. IV. 47.) Hannibal made his last approach to Rome in the direction of this place.

> Jamque adeo est campos ingressus et arva Labici,
> Linquens Telegoni pulsatos ariete muros.
>
> SIL. ITAL. XII. 534.

That it was a municipium, but nearly deserted, may be inferred from Cicero. (pro Planc.) The country about it was fertile.

> . . . . . atque habiles ad aratra Labici.
>
> SIL. ITAL. VIII. 368.

It appears, however, that Labicum, at some later period, rose from its ruins, as several inscriptions have been found which speak of the Labicani Quintanenses; and the Itineraries mention a place under

due de l'anc. Rome, Acad. des Inscript. t. xxx. p. 225. Nibby, Viaggio Antiquario, t. i. p. 252.

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the name of ad Quintanas, as being distant from Rome fifteen miles on the Via Labicana[c]. From Suetonius we learn that Cæsar had a villa in the Ager Labicanus, where he resided not long before his death, since he is said to have made his will there the September previous to that event. (Suet. Cæs. 83.)

Some other places of less note, which are mentioned in the wars of Rome with the Æqui, are to be placed in the neighbourhood of Labicum; but no vestiges remain to point out their precise situation. Among these is Columen, noticed by Livy, (III. 23.) Columen. Vitellia, (Liv. II. 39. Plin. III. 5.) Toleria, (Dion. Vitellia. Hal. VIII. 17. Plut. vit. Coriol. Plin. III. 5.) and Toleria. Hortona, or Artona. This last town appears to have been situated beyond Algidum, and on the confines of the Æqui. (Liv. II. 43. Dion. Hal. VIII. 91. Plin. III. 5.) It is placed by some at *Monte Fortino*. Besides these, there are several ancient cities, once belonging to the Latins, but of which every vestige was obliterated long before the time of Pliny, who has, however, scrupulously recorded their names. (III. 5[d].) Hortona vel Artona.

HERNICI.

Having now described what may be considered as the Latin territory, I shall pass on to that portion of New Latium which bordered on the Æqui and Marsi, and was anciently possessed by the Hernici before it was included within the Latin limits. (Strab. V. 231.) No description of the character of this small tract of country is equal to that which is conveyed by one line of Virgil.

[c] Vulp. Vet. Lat. l. xv. c. 5. [d] See Vulp. Vet. Lat. l. 1. c. 2.

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> Quique altum Præneste viri, quique arva Gabinæ
> Junonis, gelidumque Anienem, et roscida rivis
> Hernica saxa colunt. ÆN. VII. 682.

Silius, as usual, has imitated Virgil.

> Quosque in prægelidis duratos Hernica rivis
> Mittebant saxa. IV. 226.
> Hernicaque impresso raduntur vomere saxa.
> VIII. 393.

It was maintained by some authors, that the Hernici derived their name from the rocky nature of their country, *herna*, in the Sabine dialect, signifying a rock. (Serv. ad Æn. VII. 682.) Others were of opinion that they were so called from Hernicus, a Pelasgic chief; and Macrobius thinks Virgil alluded to that origin, when he describes this people as going to battle with one leg bare. (Saturn. V. 18.) The former etymology, however, is more probable, and would lead us also to infer, that the Hernici, as well as the Æqui and Marsi, were descended from the Sabines, or generally from the Oscan race.

There is nothing in the history of this petty nation which possesses any peculiar interest, or distinguishes them from their equally hardy and warlike neighbours. It is merely an account of the same ineffectual struggle to resist the systematic and overwhelming preponderance of Rome, and of the same final submission to her transcendent genius and fortune. It may be remarked, that it was upon the occasion of a debate on the division of some lands conquered from the Hernici that the celebrated Agrarian law was first brought forward, A. U. C. 268. (Liv. II. 41. Dion. Hal. VIII. 69.) The last effort made by this people to assert their indepen-

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dence was about the year 447 U. C.; but it was neither long nor vigorous, though resolved upon unanimously by a general council of all their cities. (Liv. IX. 43.)

The principal town of the Hernici was Anagnia, now *Anagni*. This is evident from its being so much oftener mentioned than any other, besides being the place where the general assembly of the nation was convened. (Liv. IX. 43.) Virgil distinguishes it by the epithet of "dives;" Anagnia.

. . . . . quos, dives Anagnia, pascis.
ÆN. VII. 684.

and Strabo terms it "an important city." (V. 238.)

In the last war with the Hernici, Anagnia was treated with greater severity than the other towns, as having borne a greater share in the revolt. Its own laws and magistrates were set aside, and it received in exchange the Roman code; justice being administered by a deputy of the prætor. In other words, it became a præfectura. (Liv. IX. 43. Fest. v. Præfect.) In the account which Polybius gives of the escape of Demetrius the Syrian from Rome, he mentions Anagnia (Ἀναγνεῖαι) as the place to which he sent forward his train, under the pretence of enjoying the sport of hunting near Circæi. (Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. XXXI. 21. and 22.) Cicero speaks of Anagnia as having suffered from the criminal conduct of Clodius, and terms it *municipium ornatissimum*. (Pro Dom. 30. and pro Mil. 1.) From one of his letters (ad Att. XII. 1.) we may collect that he had a farm in the vicinity of this city, the fertility of whose territory is much commended by Sil. Italicus.

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Quîs putri pinguis sulcaris Anagnia gleba.
VIII. 394.

. . . . . surgit suspensa tumenti
Dorso frugiferis Cerealis Anagnia glebis. XII. 532.

Anagnia was colonized by Drusus. (Front. de Col.) From Tacitus we learn that it was the birthplace of Valens, a general of Vitellius, and the chief supporter of his party. (Hist. III. 62.) The Latin way was joined near this city by the Via Prænestina, at a spot which, from that circumstance, was named Compitum Anagninum. Besides being mentioned by the Itineraries, this place is also noticed by Livy. (XXVII. 4.) We are told that its ruins are to be seen close to *Villamagna*, below *Anagni*[c].

Compitum Anagninum.

Capitulum. The situation of Capitulum, ascribed by Strabo to the Hernici, (V. 238.) and said by Frontinus to have been colonized by Sylla, is unknown.

Ferentinum. About eight miles beyond Anagnia, on the Via Latina, we find Ferentinum, now *Ferentino*, which appears to have belonged originally to the Volsci, but was taken from them by the Romans, and given to the Hernici. (Liv. IV. 51.) It is afterwards mentioned as being in the possession of that people; (IX. 43.) but subsequently it appears to have fallen into the hands of the Samnites, unless the name of Ferentinum be corrupt in the passage to which I allude. (Liv. X. 34.) It should be observed also, that Stephanus Byz. who is not, however, much to be depended upon with respect to Italian cities, assigns Ferentinum to this last people. According to Livy, Ferentinum, though subject to Rome, was governed by its own laws; (IX. 43.) but in the time of Gracchus it had become a municipal town, for Aulus

[c] Nibby, Vie degli Antichi, p. 117.

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Gellius (X. 3.) quotes part of an oration, in which that celebrated character inveighed against the conduct of a Roman prætor, who had most tyrannically ill treated two quæstors of Ferentinum. Cluverius is mistaken in supposing Ferentinum to have been a colony; in the passage he quotes from Livy, (XXXV. 9.) we should read Thurinum, and not Ferentinum. The ethnic adjective is both Ferentinates (Liv. IX. 43. Plin. III. 5.) and Ferentini.

> Sylla Ferentinis Privernatumque maniplis
> Ducebat simul excitis. SIL. ITAL. VIII. 395.

Further in the mountains, and more to the east, was Alatrium, now *Alatri*, mentioned by Plautus, in his play of the Captives, under the Greek form Ἀλάτριον. In Strabo it is written Ἀλέτριον. (V. 237.) It appears from Cicero to have been a municipium; (Orat. pro Cluent.) and Frontinus informs us that it was a colony. (Cf. Liv. IX. 43. Plin. III. 5.) Alatrium.

Verulæ, now *Veroli*, is another town ascribed to the Hernici. (Liv. IX. 43.) It was at first of little note, (Flor. I. 2.) but subsequently it appears to have become a Roman colony about the time of the Gracchi. (Front. de Col.) Verulæ.

It is generally supposed that there was a town called Bovillæ in this district, of the same name as the Latin town already mentioned as being situated on the Appian way, between Rome and Albanum; but the precise spot which is occupied has not been yet ascertained. The only passage, however, which seems to prove the existence of Bovillæ in the country of the Hernici is Flor. I. 2[f]. Bovillæ.

[f] Vulpius says, that some vestiges of this town may be traced near a place called *Bauco*, not far from *Veroli*. Vet. Lat. l. xii. c. 9. p. 120.

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VOLSCI.

We are now about to enter upon the territory of a nation whose history is known to us only from its connexion with that of Rome, and which, originally separate from Latium, was afterwards incorporated with it, when that province received an extension of its boundaries; I mean the ancient Volsci. No notice appears to be taken by any Latin writer of the origin of this people. According to Cato, they occupied the country of the Aborigines, (ap. Priscian. V.) and were at one time subject to the Etruscans. (Id. ap. Serv. Æn. XI. 567.) We learn from Titinnius, an old comic writer quoted by Festus, (v. Oscum,) that the Volsci had a peculiar idiom distinct from the Oscan and Latin dialects. They used the Latin characters, however, both in their inscriptions and coins[g]. Notwithstanding the small extent of country which they occupied, reaching only from Antium to Terracina, a line of coast of about fifty miles, and little more than half that distance from the sea to the mountains, it swarmed with cities filled with a hardy race, destined, says the Roman historian, as it were by fortune, to train the Roman soldier to

[g] In the Museo Borgia, at *Velletri*, is a very remarkable bronze tablet, with an inscription in the old Volscian language, relating to a sacrifice, as explained by Lanzi. It was found at *Velletri*; the name of the people of that city occurs there under the form VELESTROM, equivalent to VELITERNORUM. Lanzi thinks that this dialect is more nearly allied to the Tuscan or Umbrian than to the Oscan. This inscription is also important in an historical point of view, as it mentions the magistrate of Velitræ under the title of Medix, and therefore serves to connect the Volsci with the Oscans of Campania, who applied the same term of distinction to their chiefs. Lanzi, t. iii. p. 616.

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arms, by their perpetual hostility. (Liv. VI. 21.) The Volsci were first attacked by the second Tarquin, and war was carried on afterwards between the two nations, with short intervals, for upwards of two hundred years; (Liv. I. 53.) and though this account is no doubt greatly exaggerated by Livy, and the numbers much overrated, enough will remain to prove that this part of Italy was at that time far more populous and better cultivated than it is at present.

Beginning from the northern extremity of their territory, the first town we shall find is Velitræ, now *Velletri*, on the road from Rome to Naples; it was not on the Appian way, but somewhat to the left of it. Velitræ was always reckoned one of the most important and considerable cities of the Volsci, and was engaged in hostilities with Rome as early as the reign of Ancus Martius. (Dion. Hal. III. 41.) This king made a treaty with Velitræ, which was confirmed by his successor, who induced the illustrious Octavian family to leave that city, and to establish themselves at Rome. (Suet. Aug. 1.) Subsequently, however, the Veliterni took up arms against their allies, and swelled the ranks of the Volsci in the field. In this war their town was taken, after a severe battle, and a colony was sent there A. U. C. 260. But its numbers were so thinned by a dreadful pestilential disorder, which spread over the whole Volscian country, that it became necessary to repeople the city. (Dion. Hal. VII. 12.) Their connexion with the Romans does not appear to have attached the Veliterni to that people; they revolted so often, that it became necessary to punish them with unusual severity. The walls of their town were

Velitræ.

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razed, and its senators were removed to Rome, and compelled to reside in the Transtiberine part of that city; a severe fine[h] being imposed upon any individual who should be found on the other side of the river. (Liv. VIII. 14.) The colony, however, still subsisted in the reign of Claudius, as mention is made of it at that period. (Front. de Col.) Its chief boast was the honour of having given birth to Augustus, whose family, as I have before stated, migrated to Rome under the reign of Tarquinius Priscus. Suetonius observes, that the house in which he was said to have been born was still shewn in his time near Velitræ. (Aug. 6. Dio Cass. XLV.) Silius Italicus seems to speak of Velitræ as being even then an unhealthy place.

> At quos ipsius mensis seposta Lyæi
> Setia, et incelebri miserunt valle Velitræ.
>
> VIII. 378.

Corioli.

Between Velitræ and Lanuvium, a hill, now known by the name of *Monte Giove*, is thought, with some degree of probability, to represent the site of Corioli, an ancient town of the Volsci, by the capture of which C. Marcius obtained the surname of Coriolanus. We collect from Livy that it was situated on the confines of the territories of Ardea, Aricia, and Antium. (Liv. II. 33. and III. 71.) Dionysius speaks of Corioli as one of the most considerable towns of the Volsci. (Ant. Rom. VI. 92. Plut. Vit. Coriol. Flor. I. 2. Val. Max. IV. 3.) Pliny enumerates Corioli among the towns of Latium, of which no vestiges remained. (III. 5.)

[h] Expressed in Latin by the word *clarigatio*.

The small town of Ulubræ must have stood in the plain at no great distance from Velitræ. Its marshy situation is plainly alluded to by Cicero, who calls the inhabitants *little frogs*. (ad Fam. VII. Ep. 18.) Horace and Juvenal give us but a wretched idea of the place. Ulubræ.

> . . . . . quod petis, hic est,
> Est Ulubris; animus si te non deficit æquus.
> HOR. I. EPIST. 11.

> Et de mensura jus dicere? Vasa minora
> Frangere pannosus vacuis Ædilis Ulubris?
> JUV. SAT. X. 101.

Near Velitræ we may place Ecetra, noticed by Dionysius (VIII. 4.) and Livy, (II. 25.) in their accounts of the wars of the Volsci and Romans. Pliny speaks of it as one of those towns, of which no traces were visible. (III. 5.) The same may be said of Longula and Pollusca, or Pollustia, cities of the Volsci, conquered by the Romans; (Liv. II. 33. Dion. Hal. VI. 91.) and Verrugo. (Liv. V. 28. Diod. Sic. XIV.) Ecetra. Longula. Pollusca. Verrugo.

More frequent mention is made of Satricum during the same wars. This town appears to have been situated between Velitræ and Antium, and was probably dependent upon the latter city. Satricum was taken by Coriolanus, (Liv. II. 39.) retaken and burnt by the Latins, (VI. 33.) but restored by the Antiates. (VII. 27.) It fell, however, again into the power of the Romans, by whom it was destroyed, because it had joined the Samnites. (IX. 16.) Satricum.

If we now advance to the coast, the first place which presents itself to our notice is the celebrated

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Antium. port and city of Antium, the site of which is sufficiently marked by the name of *Porto d'Anzo* attached to its ruins. But the city must have reached as far as the modern town of *Nettuno*, which derives its name probably from some ancient temple dedicated to Neptune. Strabo informs us that Antium was built on a rock, and had no harbour. (V. 232.) From Livy we learn that the port with the arsenal was called Ceno. (II. 63. Dion. Hal. IX. 56.)

Ceno Portus.

According to Xenagoras, a Greek writer quoted by Dionysius, (I. 73.) the foundation of Antium is to be ascribed to Anthias, a son of Circe. Solinus attributes it to Ascanius; (c. 8.) but whatever may have been its origin, there can be no doubt that Antium was at an early period a maritime place of considerable note, since we find it comprised in the first treaty made by Rome with Carthage; (Polyb. III. 22.) and Strabo, in the passage already cited, states, that complaints were made to the Romans by Alexander and Demetrius, of the piracies exercised by the Antiates, in conjunction with the Tyrrhenians, on their subjects; intimating, that this was done with the connivance of Rome. Antium appears also to have been the most considerable city of the Volsci: it was to this place, according to Plutarch, that Coriolanus retired after he had been banished from his country, and was then enabled to form his plans of vengeance in conjunction with the Volscian chief, Tullus Aufidius. It was here too that after his failure he met his death from the hands of his discontented allies. (Vit. Coriol.) Antium was taken for the first time by the consul T. Quintius Capitolinus A. U. C. 286; and the year following it received a Roman colony. This circumstance, however, did

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not prevent the Antiates from revolting frequently, and joining in the Volscian and Latin wars, (Liv. VI. 6. Dion. Hal. X. 21.) till they were finally conquered in a battle near the river Astura, with many Latin confederates. In consequence of this defeat, Antium fell into the hands of the victors, when most of its ships were destroyed, and the rest removed to Rome. The beaks of the former were reserved to ornament the elevated seat in the Forum of that city, from whence orators addressed the people, and which, from that circumstance, was thenceforth designated by the term *rostra*. (Liv. VIII. 14. Flor. I. 11. Plin. XXXIV. 5.)

Antium now received a fresh supply of colonists, to whom the rights of Roman citizens were granted. From that period this city seems to have enjoyed a state of quiet, till the civil wars of Marius and Sylla, when it was nearly destroyed by the former. (App. Civ. Bell. I.) But it rose again from its ruins during the empire, and attained to a high degree of prosperity and splendour; since Strabo reports, that in his time it was the favourite resort of the emperors and their court; (V. 232.) and we know it was here that Augustus received from the senate the title of father of his country. (Suet. Aug. 50.)

Antium became successively the residence of Tiberius and Caligula: it was also the birthplace of Nero, (Suet. Ner. 6.) who, having re-colonized it, built a port there, and bestowed upon it various other marks of his favour. (Tacit. Annal. XIV.) Hadrian also is said to have been particularly fond of this town. (Philostrat. Vit. Apoll. Tyan. VIII. 8.) There were two temples of celebrity at Antium; one, sacred to Fortune, of which Horace speaks,

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O diva, gratum quæ regis Antium. I. Od. 35.

and to which Martial also alludes;

Seu tua veridicæ discunt responsa sorores,
Plana suburbani qua cubat unda freti. V. Ep. 1.

The other was dedicated to Æsculapius, and is well known from the tradition of the Epidaurian serpent having rested there on its way to Rome. (Val. Max. I. 8.) Ovid, however, calls it a temple of Apollo.

Et tellus Circæa, et spissi litoris Antium.
Huc ubi veliferam nautæ advertere carinam,
(Asper enim jam pontus erat,) Deus explicat orbes,
Perque sinus crebros et magna volumina labens,
Templa parentis init, flavum tangentia litus.
Metam. XV. 718.

The famous Apollo Belvedere, the fighting gladiator, and many other statues discovered at Antium, attest also its former magnificence[k]. Valerius, of Antium, is an historian often quoted by Livy.

We hear of several villas in this neighbourhood; one of which belonged to C. Lucretius, a prætor, who turned the little stream Loracina into his grounds; (Liv. XLIII. 7.) another to Cicero; (Ep. ad Att. II. 3.) and one of greater extent to T. Pomponius Atticus. (Cic. loc. cit.)

Loracina fl.

Astura insula et fl.

The island and river Astura follow next on the coast. (Plin. III. 5.) These, I believe, still retain their name. The island is, however, more properly a peninsula, situated at the mouth of the river which Strabo calls Στόρας, (V. 233.) and adds, that it was a haven. Festus says it was sometimes called Stura,

[k] See Vulp. Vet. Lat. l. iv. c. 5. who gives a plan of the ancient port, drawn from the researches of Ligorio, c. 9.

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as well as Astura. This spot is peculiarly interesting, from its having long been the residence of Cicero. His villa was close to the sea, and probably on a height, as he mentions being able to distinguish from thence both Antium and Circæi. It was to this spot that he retired to vent his grief for the loss of his beloved daughter, and thought of raising there a monument to her memory. (ad Att. XII. Ep. 19.) When proscribed by Antony, he withdrew to Astura from Tusculum, and sought to escape from thence, intending to join Brutus in Macedonia. He accordingly embarked, and had reached Circæi, when, by a strange uncertainty of purpose and wavering of mind, he again landed, and walked about twelve miles towards Rome. After a night passed in a state of the greatest perplexity, he set sail for his Formian villa. (Plut. vit. Ciceron.) Astura seems to have been also the residence of Augustus during an illness with which he was seized towards the close of his life, (Suet. Aug. 98.) and also of Tiberius. (Suet. Tib. 72.) A decisive battle took place on the banks of the river Astura, between the Romans and some of the Latin states, which led to the complete subjection of the latter. (Liv. VIII. 13.)

About a mile further on the coast was a spot called the Claustra Romana, (Ptol. p. 62.) where a mound, or dike, as Holstenius thinks, was raised to prevent the encroachments of the sea[1]. The little river Nymphæus, also mentioned by Pliny, (III. 5.) is *La Nimpa*. About twelve miles beyond are the promontory of Circe, and the ruins of Circeii, celebrated by so many Greek and Latin poets as the residence of that fabled sorceress. This conspicuous rock

Claustra Romana.

Nymphæus fl.

Circeii.

[1] Adnot. p. 207.

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is now called *Monte Circello*. Whether Homer had really this place in view when he described the adventure of Ulysses and his companions with the enchantress, is a point which may reasonably be questioned. It is certain that he describes it as an island.

> Αἰαίην δ' ἐς νῆσον ἀφικόμεθ'· ἔνθα δ' ἔναιε
> Κίρκη ἐϋπλόκαμος, δεινὴ θεὸς, αὐδήεσσα,
> Αὐτοκασιγνήτη ὀλοόφρονος Αἰήταο·
> Ἔνθα δ' ἔπ' ἀκτῆς νηῒ κατηγαγόμεσθα σιωπῇ
> Ναύλοχον ἐς λιμένα. ODYSS. K. 135.

And a little further,

> Εἶδον γὰρ, σκοπιὴν ἐς παιπαλόεσσαν ἀνελθὼν,
> Νῆσον, τὴν πέρι πόντος ἀπείριτος ἐστεφάνωται·
> Αὐτὴ δὲ χθαμαλὴ κεῖται.

Now this description might as well apply to any other rocky cape as to the Circæan promontory; and though we have the authority of Theophrastus (Hist. Plant. V. 9.) and Varro, as quoted by Servius, for supposing that it might formerly have been an island, (ad Æn. III. 386.) still it requires too great a stretch of the imagination to believe that Homer and the other poets, who have sung of the charms of Circe, were describing places which had an actual existence. We might as well seek to reconcile the wanderings of Io, as described in the Prometheus of Æschylus, or the navigation of the Argonauts, with correct notions of geography. These heroes too are represented by Apollonius as visiting Circe: he indeed does not talk of the island, but otherwise is more explicit in describing the geographical situation of the abode of Circe.

> Καρπαλίμως δ' ἐνθένδε δι' ἐξ ἁλὸς οἶδμα νέοντο
> Αὐσονίης, ἀκτὰς Τυρσηνίδας εἰσορόωντες·

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Ἶξον δ' Αἰαίης λιμένα κλυτόν· ἐκ δ' ἄρα νηὸς
Πείσματ' ἔκπ' ἠιόνων σχεδόθεν βάλον. ἔνθα δὲ Κίρκην
Εὗρον. ARGON. IV. 659.

I grant that it is much more poetical to suppose that this spot was the haunt of this celebrated enchantress, and the scene of a very interesting adventure of Ulysses; but I must agree with Cluverius in the opinion that this fiction has received its application subsequently to the period in which Homer wrote, when from the celebrity of his poems it became a matter of belief[m].

The tomb of Elpenor, a companion of Ulysses, was commonly shewn on the Circæan mount. (Theoph. Hist. Plant. V. 9. Scyl. Peripl. Plin. XV. 29.) Strabo even tells us that the cup of Ulysses was preserved here as a sight; (V. 232.) but he evidently considers the whole as a fable; as does also Procopius. (Rer. Got. I.)

Aristotle seems to have heard of this Circæan mount as producing some deadly poison. (de Mirab.) Virgil, who has followed the popular tradition, describes the abode of Circe in these beautiful lines.

Proxima Circææ raduntur litora terræ:
Dives inaccessos ubi Solis filia lucos
Assiduo resonat cantu, tectisque superbis
Urit odoratam nocturna in lumina cedrum,
Arguto tenues percurrens pectine telas.
Hinc exaudiri gemitus, iræque leonum
Vincla recusantum, et sera sub nocte rudentum:
Sætigerique sues, atque in præsepibus ursi
Sævire, ac formæ magnorum ululare luporum:
ÆN. VII. 10.

The town of Circeii stood rather inland, probably on the site of the village of *San Felice*, where some

[m] Ital. Ant. II. p. 1000.

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ruins are said to be visible [n]. We first hear of this town in the reign of Tarquinius Superbus; Dionysius informs us that it was colonized by his soldiers, as being an important place, from its situation near the Pometinus Campus and the sea. (IV. 63. Liv. I. 56.) It is uncertain, however, whether the town existed before this period, as the passage leaves it in doubt. That it was under the protection of Rome as early as the first consuls is seen from Polybius. (III. 22.) Circeii was taken by Coriolanus, and restored to the Volsci. (Liv. II. 39. Dion. Hal. VIII. 14.) It again, however, fell into the power of the Romans A. U. C. 266. but appears to have been seldom faithful, (Liv. VI. 12. and 21.) having taken an active part in the Latin war, (VIII. 3.) and refused to furnish supplies in the second Punic war: (XXVII. 9.) for these acts of disobedience the inhabitants several times incurred punishment. (VIII. 11. and XXIX. 15.) Circeii appears to have been still extant in Cicero's time, for he mentions that Circe was worshipped there. (de Nat. Deor. III. 19.) It was assigned to Lepidus as the place of his exile by Augustus. (Suet. Aug. 16.) Strabo notices it as a small town: (V. 232.) he also mentions it as a port, which Holstenius says is now called *Porto di Paola* [o]. It was famous for its oysters. (Plin. XXXII. 6.)

> . . . . . Circæis nata forent, an
> Lucrinum ad saxum, Rutupinove edita fundo
> Ostrea, callebat primo deprendere morsu:
>
> Juv. Sat. IV. 140.

[n] Marcell. Corradini, Vet. Lat. l. i. c. 9. p. 98. and l. iii. c. 1. p. 244. Pratilli Via Appia l. 1. c. 16. p. 113. Chaupy Dec. de la Maison de Camp. d'Hor. t. i. p. 170.

[o] Adnot. p. 208.

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The neighbourhood was favourable for hunting the wild boar, and Polybius mentions his having frequently enjoyed that sport there. (Excerpt. Legat. XXXII. 22.)

Circeii, from its proximity to the sea, appears to have been considered by the Romans as an agreeable residence. We find it frequented by Cicero and Atticus; (ad Att. XV. Ep. 10.) and in later times by Tiberius (Suet. Tib. 72.) and Domitian.

> Cæsar in Albanum jussit me mane venire,
> Cæsar Circeïos. — MART. XI. EP. 8.
>
> . . . . . cedant vitreæ juga perfida Circes
> Dulichiis ululata lupis. — STAT. SILV. I. 3.

We must now return to the Via Appia, in order to describe some places situated on this celebrated road, or in its vicinity. About seven miles from Aricia on this way, and where it was joined by a cross road from Antium, was the station called Tres Tabernæ, mentioned by St. Paul in his journey to Rome; (Acts xxviii. 15.) and likewise by Cicero, when proceeding thither from Antium [p]. (ad Att. II. Ep. 12.)

Tres Tabernæ.

Sixteen miles further on the Appian way stood Forum Appii, also mentioned by St. Paul in the passage above referred to, and well known as Horace's second resting-place in his journey to Brundusium. Holstenius [q] and Corradini [r] agree in fixing the position of Forum Appii at *Casarillo di Santa Maria*. But D'Anville, from an exact computation of distances and relative positions, inclines to place it at

Forum Appii.

[p] On this site, see Holsten. Adnot. p. 210. and D'Anville, Anal. Geogr. de l'Italie, p. 195.

[q] Adnot. p. 210.

[r] Vet. Lat. l. xi. p. 94.

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Borgo Lungo near ***Treponti***, on the present road[s]. And I believe he is correct, especially as it appears clear from Horace, that from hence it was usual to embark on a canal, which run parallel to the Via Appia, and which was called Decennovium, its length being nineteen miles. (Prop. Rer. Got. I. 2.) Vestiges of this canal may still be traced a little beyond ***Borgo Lungo***. It must be observed too, that the name of this modern place agrees very well with the idea which Horace gives us of the Forum Appii.

> . . . . . inde forum Appî,
> Differtum nautis, cauponibus atque malignis.
> Hoc iter ignavi divisimus, altius ac nos
> Præcinctis unum: minus est gravis Appia tardis.
> Hic ego, propter aquam, quod erat teterrima, ventri
> Indico bellum, cœnantes haud animo æquo
> Expectans comites. Jam nox inducere terris
> Umbras, et cœlo diffundere signa parabat.
> Tum pueri nautis, pueris convicia nautæ
> Ingerere, &c. — I. Sat. V.

The canal is also noticed by Lucan.

> Et qua Pomptinas via dividit uda paludes. III. 85.

(Cf. Cassiod. II. Ep. 32. and 33.)

Tripontium.

The place called ***Treponti***, on the modern road through the Pontine marshes, can be no other than the Trapontium of Strabo, (V. 237.) where we ought however, perhaps, to read Tripontium. It is called Tripus in the inscription of Theodoric at ***Terracina***. The commentators of Strabo seem to have blundered about this place as well as Cluverius.

Forum Appii doubtless owed its origin to Ap-

[s] Anal. Geogr. de l'Italie, p. 186.

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pius Cæcus, who constructed the road which bore his name; and it appears to have long remained under the peculiar patronage of the Appian family. (Suet. Tib. 2.) It is mentioned more than once by Cicero, (ad Att. I. Ep. 15.) and by Pliny, (III. 5.) who calls the inhabitants Foro Appios; where, however, we ought to read Foro Appienses.

The canal on which Horace embarked was made by Augustus, who had endeavoured, as the same poet elsewhere informs us, to drain the Pontine marshes. Fossa Augusti.

> . . . . . sterilisve diu palus aptaque remis
> Vicinas urbes alit, et grave sentit aratrum.
>
> ART. POET. 65.

Strabo's description of this canal agrees with that of Horace, and he likewise mentions that this navigation took place during the night, and that travellers in the morning were landed near Terracina. (V. 233.) This canal was subsequently enlarged by Nero, who had formed a project for uniting the lake Avernus with the Tiber. (Suet. Ner. 31. Tacit. Ann. XV. 42.) Corradini thinks that the Cisterna Neronis, now *la Cisterna*, a posthouse on the present road to *Naples*, has a reference to this work [t]. Cisterna Neronis.

What remains to be said of the Pontine marshes may perhaps be conveniently disposed of in this place. According to the best authorities, this name is derived from Suessa Pometia, an ancient Volscian city situated somewhere in this vicinity, though no trace has been left to identify the precise spot on which it once stood. This town was taken and sacked by the last Tarquin, and the booty captured on this Suessa Pometia.

[t] L. xi. p. 117.

occasion is said to have furnished him with the means necessary for laying the foundations of the Capitol. (Liv. I. 53.)

There was another town of the name of Suessa, which derived from the nation of the Aurunci, to which it belonged, the distinctive appellation of Aurunca. These two places have been confounded together, and more particularly by Livy, who, in his account of a war between the Romans and Aurunci, relates circumstances as concerning Suessa Pometia, which evidently belong to the Auruncan city [u]. (II. 17.)

Suessa Pometia was a colony of Alba, according to Dionysius (l. 4.) and Virgil,

> Hic tibi Nomentum, et Gabios, urbemque Fidenam;
> Hi Collatinas imponent montibus arces,
> Pometios — ÆN. VI. 773.

Corradini has endeavoured to prove that the position of Suessa accords with that of *Mesa* on the Appian way, where there are still some considerable ruins; but D'Anville has clearly shewn that *Mesa* answers to the ad Medias of the Jerusalem Itinerary [x]. This geographer, in his map of Ancient Italy, has placed Suessa to the south of the Appian way, but without assigning any reason in his book. In fact this site must for ever remain a matter of conjecture. We are informed by Mucianus, an ancient writer quoted by Pliny, that there were at one time no less than twenty-three cities to be found in this district: (III. 5.) consequently it is to be inferred, that formerly

[u] Vet. Lat. l. ii. c. 9. p. 66. See Crevier's note to this passage. Corradini thinks these towns to have been one and the same, (l. xi. c. 9.) but he is evidently mistaken. See Pratilli della Via Appia, l. i. c. 16.

[x] Anal. Geogr. de l'Italie, p. 188.

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these marshes did not exist, or that they were confined to a much smaller space of ground. That it was cultivated appears clearly from Livy: (II. 34.) and we are told by the same historian that the Pomptinus ager was once portioned out to the Roman people. (VI. 21.) Indeed it is evident that the waters must have been gradually encroaching, from the decline of the Roman empire, until the successful exertions made by the Roman pontiffs arrested their baneful progress. When this district was occupied by flourishing cities, and an active and industrious population was ever ready to check the increase of stagnation, it might easily be kept under; but after the ambition of Rome and her system of universal dominion had rendered this tract of country desolate, these wastes and fens naturally increased, and in process of time gained so much ground, as to render any attempt to remedy the evil only temporary and inefficient. The primary cause of the evil must doubtless have been the want of a fall in the Pontine plains, for the rivers which rise in the chain of the Volscian mountains, bounding the marshes to the north-east, to carry off their waters into the sea, especially as they are apt to overflow in the rainy season. Among these we must reckon the Astura and Nymphæus, which have been already mentioned, and the Ufens, now *Aufente*, which is a considerable stream rising in the mountains above Setia and Privernum. It communicated its name, which was formerly written Oufens, to the tribe Oufentina, according to Lucilius, who is quoted by Festus. (v. Oufens.)

Pomptinæ vel Pomtinæ Paludes.

Ufens fl.

Priverno Oufetina venit fluvioque Oufente.

Virgil well describes its sluggish character,

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Qua Saturæ jacet atra palus, gelidusque per imas
Quærit iter valles atque in mare conditur Ufens.
ÆN. VII. 801.

and likewise Silius Italicus;

Et quos pestifera Pomptini uligine campi,
Qua Saturæ nebulosa palus restagnat, et atro
Liventes cœno per squalida turbidus arva
Cogit aquas Ufens, atque inficit æquora limo.
VIII. 381.

also Claudian,

. . . . . tardusque suis erroribus Ufens.
CLAUD. PANEG. PROB. CONS.

(Cf. Strab. V. 233. Plin. III. 5.[y])

Amasenus fl.

The Amasenus is the last of the streams which cross the Pontine marshes, and is well known from the description of Metabus's escape with Camilla in Virgil.

Ecce, fugæ medio, summis Amasenus abundans
Spumabat ripis; (tantus se nubibus imber
Ruperat;) ille, innare parans, infantis amore
Tardatur, caroque oneri timet. —
ÆN. XI. 547.

The same poet again mentions it in his catalogue of the allies of Turnus.

. . . . . quos, dives Anagnia, pascis,
Quos, Amasene pater. — ÆN. VII. 684.

These two rivers were the principal agents in producing those celebrated marshes, according to Strabo;

[y] Cluverius and Corradini have thought that the Ufens and the Decennovius of Procopius were the same; but this is evidently a mistake, as Holstenius and D'Anville clearly prove, Anal. Geogr. de l'Italie, p. 185.

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(V. 233.) and indeed it is generally agreed that this swampy region must be confined between Forum Appii and Tarracina in length, and the sea and mountains in breadth [z].

It is supposed that when Appius constructed the road named after him, he made the first attempt to drain these marshes, but this is not certain, as no such work is mentioned in the accounts we have of the formation of this Roman way. (Liv. IX. 29. Diod. Sic. XX.) But about one hundred and thirty years after, there is a positive statement of that object having been partly effected by the consul Corn. Cethegus[a]. (Liv. Epit. XLVI.) Julius Cæsar was the next who formed the design of accomplishing the arduous task; (Plut. vit. Cæs. Suet. Cæs. 44.) but it is doubtful whether he ever actually began it. (Dion. Cass. XLIV.) It therefore remained for Augustus to carry the plan into execution, which must have been attended with success; for we do not hear of any further works of that kind becoming necessary till the reigns of Trajan and Nerva. (Dio. Cass. LXVIII.) Inscriptions are extant which testify the interest which they took in these beneficial projects [b]. The last undertaking of this nature, before the downfal of the Roman empire, was formed under the reign of Theodoric the Goth, by Cæcilius Decius, a public spirited individual, and apparently with good effect. (Cassiod. II. Epist. 32. and 33.)

[z] In modern times, before the drainage of Pope Sixtus, the marshes covered at least thirteen thousand acres. Corradini, Vet. Lat. l. ii. p. 128.

[a] I follow Ligorius and Corradini in assigning this work to P. Corn. Cethegus: there was another consul of this family who held that office twenty years after. Vet. Lat. l. ii. p. 130.

[b] Corrad. Vet. Lat. l. ii. c. 20. p. 168.

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Juvenal alludes to the Pontine marshes as the haunt of robbers and cut-throats.

> Interdum et ferro subitus grassator agit rem,
> Armato quoties tutæ custode tenentur
> Et Pomptina palus, et Gallinaria pinus.
>
> SAT. III. 307.

Feroniæ Lucus.

Resuming our progress on the Appian way, we have to notice the grove and fountain of Feronia, about three miles from Tarracina, the scene of Horace's ablutions.

> . . . . . quarta vix demum exponimur hora.
> Ora, manusque tua lavimus, Feronia, lympha.
>
> I. SAT. V. 23.

It is mentioned by Virgil also, in connexion with Anxur, or Tarracina.

> . . . . . quis Jupiter Anxurus arvis
> Præsidet, et viridi gaudens Feronia luco.
>
> ÆN. VII. 800.

The fountain or lake is spoken of by Vibius Sequester. (de Flum. et Font.) There was a temple also dedicated to the goddess Feronia, the foundation of which is attributed by Dionysius (II. 49.) to certain Spartans, who had left their country to escape from the severe laws of Lycurgus, and who in the course of their wanderings arrived on the Latin coast. In this temple was a seat on which slaves received their freedom, this verse being inscribed on it:

> Benemeriti servi sedeant, surgant liberi.

(Varr. ap. Serv. ad Æn. VIII. 564.)

Anxur, vel Tarracina.

About three miles further we find Tarracina, called also Anxur, which probably was its Volscian name. (Ennius, ap. Fest. v. Anxur, and Plin. III. 5.) We

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learn from Horace that this city stood on the lofty rock at the foot of which the modern *Terracina* is situated.

> Millia tum pransi tria repimus: atque subimus
> Impositum saxis late candentibus Anxur.
>
> I. Sat. V. 25.

According to Strabo, it was first named Trachina, a Greek appellation indicative of the ruggedness of its situation. (V. 233.) Ovid calls it Trachas.

> . . . . . Trachasque obsessa palude.
>
> Metam. XV. 717.

In Dionysius it is written Ταρρακήνα. (ap. Steph. Byz.) With the generality of Latin writers it is however called Tarracina, (Mela, II. 4.) and sometimes in the plural Tarracinæ. (Liv. IV. 59. App. Civ. Bell. III. 12. Ptol. p. 66.)

The first intimation we have of the existence of this city is from Polybius; who in his account of the first treaty which was concluded between the Romans and Carthaginians, enumerates Tarracina among the Latin cities in the alliance of the former. (III. 22.) It does not appear indeed that the influence of the Romans had at this early period extended beyond Circæi, but probably it was consistent with their policy and ambitious views to assume the character of protectors of all the cities on this coast; and in fact somewhat more than an hundred years subsequent to this time, the Romans made themselves masters of Tarracina after a siege of short duration, when it was given up to plunder. (Liv. IV. 59.) It was however retaken by the Volsci, who surprised the garrison. (V. 8.) After having withstood one at-

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tack of the Romans it again fell into their possession[c]; (V. 12. and 13.) and about seventy-five years later received a colony from Rome, when a division of lands took place. (Liv. VIII. 21. Vell. Paterc. I. 14.) Tarracina subsequently became of consequence as a naval station; its port is noticed by Livy, (XXVII. 4.) and it is classed by that historian with those colonies which were required to furnish sailors and stores for the Roman fleet. (XXVII. 38. and XXXVI. 3.) The garrison of Tarracina joined Cæsar in his march to Brundusium. (Civ. Bell. I. 24. Plut. vit. Cæs. Cic. ad Att. VIII. Ep. II.) It is styled "splendidus locus" by Valerius Maximus, who relates a remarkable trial which took place there. (VIII. 1. 13.) From Tacitus we learn that it was a municipium; (Hist. IV. 5.) and the efforts made by the parties of Vitellius and Vespasian to obtain possession of this town, sufficiently prove that it was then looked upon as a very important post. (Hist. III. 76. and 77.) The other authors who have mentioned Tarracina are Dio Cass. LXV. Zonaras, Ann. II. Cicero de Orat. II. ad Att. VII. Ep. 5. ad Fam. VII. 23. Spartian, vit. Hadrian. The poets invariably, I believe, call it Anxur.

Jamque et præcipites superaverat Anxuris arces.
LUCAN. III. 84.

. . . . . scopulosi verticis Anxur.
SIL. ITAL. VIII. 392.

. . . . . arcesque superbæ
Anxuris.— STAT. SILV. I. 3.

[c] There is a contradiction in Livy's description of this city. He first mentions it as "prona "in paludes," consequently as situated on low ground; (IV. 59.) and afterwards terms it "oppidum loco alto situm;" (V. 12.) unless we suppose the Volsci had fortified the heights in the interval.

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Seu placet Æneæ nutrix, seu filia Solis,
Sive salutiferis candidus Anxur aquis.
MART. V. EP. 1.

O nemus, o fontes, solidumque madentis arenæ
Littus, et æquoreis splendidus Anxur aquis.
ID. X. EP. 51.

The emperor Galba was born at a villa near Tarracina. (Suet. Galb. IV.) The narrow pass which we find beyond this city towards *Fondi* was called Lautulæ. It was occupied by some Roman troops who mutinied after the first Samnite war, and formed the bold design of marching to Rome; but the insurrection was quelled by Valerius Corvus. (Liv. VII. 39.) This defile was secured by Fabius Maximus in the second Punic war, in order to prevent Hannibal's advance by the Appian way. (Liv. XXII. 15.) Lautulæ.

I have now described all the coast, with the plains which formerly belonged to the Volsci; but some places yet remain to be noticed in that mountainous tract which stretches from the neighbourhood of Præneste, and, running nearly south, meets the sea at Tarracina. This is the chain from which the rivers that cause the stagnation of waters in the Pontine district derive their source; it is called Mons Lepinus by Columella. Lepinus Mons.

. . . . . quæ Signia monte Lepino.
R. RUST. X.

In its most northern extremity was situated Signia, now *Segni*, which became a Roman colony as early as the reign of Tarquinius Superbus, to whom the foundation of it is ascribed. At first it was only a military post, which in process of time, however, Signia.

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became a city. (Dion. Hal. IV. 63.) Livy only mentions that Tarquin sent a colony there, as well as to Circæi. (I. 55.) When that king was dethroned, he sought the assistance of Signia, but the inhabitants remained faithful to Rome. (Dion. Hal. V. 58.) They appear to have continued in the same sentiments even during the severe trial of the second Punic war; as we find Signia mentioned by Livy among the colonies of that period most distinguished for their steady adherence to the Roman power. (XXVII. 10.) The Carthaginian hostages were at their request transferred from the town of Norba to Signia, as affording a more comfortable residence. (Liv. XXXII. 2.) Signia is noticed by several writers as producing a wine of an astringent nature. (Strab. V. 237. Plin. XIV. 6.)

> Quos Cora, quos spumans immiti Signia musto,
> Et quos pestifera Pomptini uligine campi.
>
> SIL. ITAL. VIII. 380.

> Potabis liquidum Signina morantia ventrem;
> Ne nimium sistant, sit tibi parca satis.
>
> MART. XIII. EP. 116.

It was also noted for a particular mode of flooring with bricks, which was called the "opus Signinum [d]." (Plin. XV. 12. Vitruv. VIII. in fin.)

Cora. Somewhat to the south was Cora, (Strab. V. 1.) a town of great antiquity, which has preserved its

[d] There are some remains at *Segni* of a wall and gate of that irregular polygonal construction which is commonly called Cyclopean. (Micali, Tav. 12.) The coins of Signia are not uncommon; they have the epigraph SEIG. in Latin characters, and a head of Mercury. Sestini, Lett. Numism, t. iii. 2.

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name unchanged to this day. It is supposed by Virgil to have been a colony of Alba;

> Hi tibi Nomentum, et Gabios, urbemque Fidenam,
> Hi Collatinas imponent montibus arces,
> Pometios, Castrumque Inui, Bolamque, Coramque.
> Æn. VI. 773.

and by Pliny to have been founded by Dardanus, a Trojan. (III. 5.) This, however, may be only a different view of Virgil's account. Dionysius ranks it among the Latin cities as early as the reign of Tullus Hostilius. (III. 34.) We are not informed when it became a Roman colony, but it is described as such by Livy. (II. 16.) The same author informs us, that it enjoyed municipal rights during the second Punic war. (XXVI. 8.) In this war Cora is mentioned as one of the refractory cities which refused to contribute its share of the necessary supplies. (XXVII. 9.) Many years after, it suffered greatly during the contest with Spartacus, being taken and sacked by one of his wandering bands. (Flor. III. 20.) It apparently, however, recovered from this devastation, as there are some fine remains of ancient buildings to be seen at Cora, which must have been erected in the reigns of Tiberius and Claudius[e]; but Propertius and Lucan speak of Cora as the seat of ruin and desolation.

> Nec dum ultra Tiberim belli sonus; ultima præda
> Nomentum, et captæ jugera pauca Coræ.
> Propert. IV. Eleg. 11.

[e] Particularly the remains of two temples. One is of the Doric order, supposed to have been dedicated to Hercules: it is in good preservation. The other was sacred to Castor and Pollux. See Piranesi, Antichi di Cora. Nibby, Viaggio Antiquario, t. ii. p. 207. Sestini has published a coin of Cora, which he considers as unique. It has the epigraph CORANO, and a head of Apollo. Class. Gen. seu Monet. Vet. p. 12.

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. . . . . Gabios, Vejosque, Coramque
Pulvere vix tectæ poterunt monstrare ruinæ.
LUCAN. VII. 392.

Norba.

Somewhat to the south of Cora, and on the same ridge of hills, was Norba, the position of which will nearly agree with the little place now called *Norma*. It is mentioned among the early Latin cities by Pliny; (III. 5.) and Dion. Hal. speaks of it as no obscure city of that nation. (VII. 13.) It was early colonized by the Romans as an advantageous station to check the inroads of the Volsci. (Liv. II. 34.) This, however, rendered Norba particularly subject to their devastations, especially on the part of the Privernates, who lay in the immediate neighbourhood; (Liv. VII. 42.) but neither these repeated attacks, nor even the distresses of the second Punic war, had power to shake its fidelity to Rome. (Liv. XXVII. 10.) The disastrous end of this city gave further proof of its devotion to the cause which it had espoused; for the zeal which it displayed on the behalf of Marius and his party drew upon it the vengeance of the adverse faction. Besieged by Lepidus, one of Sylla's generals, it was opened to him by treachery; but the undaunted inhabitants chose rather to perish by their own hands than become the victims of a bloody conqueror. (App. Civ. Bell. I. 94.) The name of C. Norbanus, who was descended from a distinguished family of this city, occurs frequently in the history of those disastrous times, as a conspicuous leader on the side of Marius. (Liv. Epit. LXXXV.)

At the foot of the hill on which this city was situated, the river Nymphæus takes its source in a small lake, noticed by Pliny for its floating islands.

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They were called Saltuares, from their being said to move to the time of dancing feet. (Plin. II. 94. and 95.) The ruins of a temple, sacred to the nymphs of the place, still remain [f]. Insulæ Saltuares.

On the site of *Sermonetta Vecchia* once stood the Latin city Sulmo, which must not be confounded with the town of the same name situated among the Peligni, and better known as the birthplace of Ovid [g]. Virgil probably alluded to this place when he gives the name of Sulmo to a Latin warrior. Sulmo.

> . . . . . Sulmone creatos
> Quatuor hìc juvenes; totidem, quos educat Ufens,
> Viventes rapit, inferias quos immolet umbris.
>
> Æn. X. 517.

In Pliny's time no vestige of it remained. (III. 5.)

About three miles to the south, and on the same range of mountains, was Setia, a Roman colony, and a town of some consequence, now called *Sezza*. Strabo places it between the Latin and Appian ways, and to the right of the former. (V. 237.) Its situation, on a steep and lofty hill, is marked by a verse of Lucilius, preserved by Aulus Gellius. (XVI. 9.) Strabo notices this town in more than one place. (V. 234. and 237.) Martial also makes its wine the frequent subject of his verse; Setia.

> Nec facili pretio, sed quo contenta Falerni
> Testa sit, aut cellis Setia cara suis. X. Ep. 36.
>
> Non Hybla, non me spicifer capit Nilus,
> Nec quæ paludes delicata Pontinas
> Ex arce clivi spectat uva Setini. Id. X. Ep. 74.

and likewise Juvenal,

[f] Vulp. Vet. Lat. l. v. c. 4.

[g] See vol. i. p. 334.

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. . . . . Tunc illa time cum pocula sumes
Gemmata, et lato Setinum ardebit in auro.
SAT. X. 26.

We may infer from Statius, that it was sometimes poured on the ashes of the wealthy dead.

. . . . . nec quod tibi Setia canos
Restinxit cineres. SILV. II. 6.

If Corradini be correct, we must place in the territory of Setia one of those towns which have long ceased to exist, though they once figured in the annals of Latium; I mean Appiolæ, a city of the Latins, said to have been taken and burned by Tarquinius Priscus, and to have furnished from its spoils the sums necessary for the construction of the Circus Maximus. (Dion. Hal. III. 49. Liv. I. 35. Strab. V. 231.) According to the abovementioned antiquary, the name of *Valle Apiole* is given in old writings to a tract of country situated between *Sezza* and *Piperno*[g].

Appiolæ.

Privernum.

The city of Privernum will close our description of this part of the Volscian territory. Its ancient name is but partially lost in that of the modern *Piperno*, which marks its situation. We have the authority of Virgil for ascribing it to the Volsci: he speaks of it as the birthplace of Camilla.

Pulsus ob invidiam regno viresque superbas
Priverno antiqua Metabus quum excederet urbe,
Infantem, fugiens media inter prœlia belli,
Sustulit. ÆN. XI. 539.

Strabo seems to consider the Privernates as a distinct people from the Volsci; for he particularizes

[g] Corradini, Vet. Lat. l. ii. c. 2.

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them among the petty nations conquered by the Romans and incorporated in Latium. With them he enumerates two other tribes, who have not, I believe, been mentioned by any other author, the Rhæci and Argyrusci. It is probable, however, that these names are corrupt, particularly the second, for which I think we ought to substitute that of the Aurunci, who certainly appear to have been at one time contiguous to the Privernates, and are sufficiently celebrated to deserve some notice from so accurate a writer as Strabo[h]. (V. 231.) The same geographer elsewhere points out the situation of Privernum between the Latin and Appian ways. (V. 237.)

This apparently insignificant place, trusting, as it would seem, to its natural strength and remote situation, presumed to brave the vengeance of Rome, by making incursions on the neighbouring colonies of Setia and Norba. (Liv. VII. 15.) A consul was immediately despatched to chastise the offenders, and on the submission of the town obtained the honours of a triumph. (VII. 16.) The Privernates again, however, renewed their hostile depredations; and the offence was repeated so often, that it was found necessary to demolish their walls and remove their senate to Rome. An assembly was held in that city, and a debate ensued on the punishment to be inflicted on the inhabitants of Privernum. A deputy of the conquered town being asked what penalty their rebellious conduct deserved, boldly re-

[h] In some MSS. of Dionysius this name is written Αὐρωνίσσους, which, as Sylburgius judiciously observed, comes near to the Ἀργυρούσκων of Strabo. (Dion. Hal. ed. Reiske, I. p. 55. and VI. p. 1114.) For the word Ῥαικῶν, we should perhaps read Σακρανῶν.

. . . . . Rutuli veteresque Sicani,
Et Sacranæ acies et picti scuta Labici.
Æn. VII. 795.

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plied, "Such punishment as they merited who claim-"ed their freedom." The Romans had the generosity and good sense to be pleased with this spirited reply; and instead of exercising further severity, they admitted the Privernates to the rights of Roman citizens. (Liv. VIII. 1—21. Val. Max. VI. 2.) Festus, however, mentions it among the præfecturæ, or those towns in which the prætor of Rome administered justice by deputy. Frontinus classes Privernum among the military colonies. (Plin. III. 5. Ptol. p. 66.) Frequent mention of the Privernas Ager occurs in Cicero. (Orat. II. 55. de Div. I. 43. Agr. II. 25.)

Frusino. If we now advance towards the Latin way, we shall come to Frusino, now *Frosinone*, a city of some note, according to Strabo, and situated on the Cosa fl. river Cosa. It is also noticed by Plautus, in a passage of the Captives already cited, and by Silius Italicus.

> . . . . . atque a duro Frusino haud imbellis aratro.
> VIII. 400.
> . . . . . fert concitus inde
> Per juga celsa gradum, duris qua rupibus hæret
> Bellator Frusino. Id. XII. 530.

This town was deprived by Rome of its territory for having incited the Hernici to war, A. U. C. 450. (Liv. X. 1. Diod. Sic. XX.) Frontinus names it among the colonies, and Festus among the præfecturæ. Cicero seems to have possessed at one time an estate near Frusino. (ad Att. XI. Ep. 4.)

Fregellæ, which next follows, was situated near the Liris, (Strab. V. 238.) and close to the Via Latina, as appears from the mention of a station called Fregellanum in the Itineraries, which describe that

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route. Fregellæ is stated by Strabo to have been once a place of some consequence, and the capital of a considerable district. It is said to have belonged first to the Sidicini, and successively to the Volsci and the Samnites; but it was finally conquered and colonized by the Romans, A. U. C. 427. (Liv. VIII. 22.) According to Appian, Fregellæ was afterwards taken by Pyrrhus, when advancing against Rome. (Bell. Pyrrh.) Its territory was also exposed to the ravages of Hannibal's troops, because the bridges on the Liris had been destroyed to impede his march towards that city. (Liv. XXVI. 9.)

Fregellæ, however, survived all these disasters, and even attained to so considerable a degree of importance and prosperity as to suppose that it could compete even with Rome; its inhabitants revolted, and probably under circumstances peculiarly offensive to the Romans. L. Opimius was ordered to reduce the Fregellani. Their town was immediately besieged, and after a vigorous resistance was taken through the treachery of Numitorius Pullus, one of their own citizens, whose name has been handed down to us by Cicero. (De Fin. V. 22. Phil. III. 6.) Fregellæ was on this occasion destroyed; the discontented state of the allies of Rome at that period probably rendering such severe measures necessary. (Liv. Epit. LX. Rhet. ad Her. IV. 9. Vell. Paterc. II. 6. Val. Max. II. 8.) In Strabo's time, the condition of this city was little better than that of a village, to which the neighbouring population resorted at certain periods for religious purposes. (V. 238. Plin. III. 5.) Its ruins, according to Cluverius, are to be seen at *Ceperano*, a small town on the right

Fregellæ.

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bank of the *Garigliano*[i]. A more modern writer, however, fixes this ancient site at *S. Giovanni Incarico*, about three miles further down that river[k].

I know not to what tradition Silius Italicus alludes when he says,

> Et, quæ fumantem texere giganta, Fregellæ.
> XII. 529.

Trerus fl. Fabrateria.

Somewhat lower down the *Garigliano*, and near its junction with the river *Sacco*, the name of which was Trerus, as we learn from Strabo, (V. 237.) *Falvaterra* represents the ancient Fabrateria, situated on the Latin way, according to the Itineraries and the above mentioned geographer. This town appears at first to have belonged to the Volsci, but as early as 424 U. C. it placed itself under the protection of Rome. (Liv. VIII. 19.) Fabrateria was subsequently colonized, 628 U. C. (Vell. Paterc. I. 15.) Pliny makes mention of the Fabraterni veteres et novi. (III. 5.) Cf. Priscian. II. and Sil. Ital.

> . . . . . hic Scaptia pubes,
> Hic Fabrateriæ vulgus. VIII. 397.

Sora.

Nearer the source of the Liris, and also on the right bank of that river, we find Sora, which still preserves its name. (Strab. V. 238.) This town was taken from the Volsci by the Romans, who sent a colony there A. U. C. 452. (Liv. VII. 28.) The Sorani, however, revolted in favour of the Samnites, after having put to the sword the Roman settlers.

[i] Ital. Ant. I. p. 1036. See also Holst. Adnot. p. 220. and De Chaupy, t. iii. p. 474.

[k] Pasquale Cayro Citta del Lazio, vol. i. and Romanelli, t. iii. p. 380.

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Liv. IX. 23.) Finally the Samnites were expelled, and Sora remained in the possession of the Romans. (Liv. IX. 24—44. Diod. Sic. XIX. and XX.) Subsequently it is spoken of by Livy as one of the refractory colonies during the second Punic war. (XXIX. 15.) Frontinus informs us, that many years afterwards it was recolonized by order of Augustus. (Front. de Col.) But the earliest writer who has mentioned this town is Plautus, in a passage of the Captives, which has been referred to more than once. Sora is also noticed by Silius Italicus.

> . . . . . Soræque juventus
> Addita fulgebat telis. VIII. 396.

Juvenal represents it as one of those country towns in which an honest man might reside with comfort in that age of corruption, which he satirizes.

> Si potes avelli Circensibus, optima Soræ,
> Aut Fabrateriæ domus, aut Frusinone paratur.
> SAT. III. 223.

If we now cross the Liris, and follow the course of that river on its left bank, we shall soon arrive at its junction with the Fibrenus, a stream well known from the little island which it forms before its junction with the Liris. It belonged to Cicero, and is the spot where the scene of his dialogues with Atticus and his brother Quintus on legislation is laid. He describes it in the opening of the book as the property and residence of his ancestors, who had lived there for many generations: he himself was born there, A. U. C. 646. The Fibrenus, in another passage of the second book, is mentioned as remarkable for the coldness of its waters. The island of

Fibrenus fl.

Insula Ciceronis.

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Cicero came afterwards into the possession of Silius Italicus, as we are told by Martial.

> Silius hæc magni celebrat monumenta Maronis,
> Jugera facundi qui Ciceronis habet. XI. Ep. 49.

Silius himself has not omitted to notice the Fibrenus.

> . . . qui, Fibréno miscentem flumina, Lirim
> Sulfureum, tacitisque vadis ad litora lapsum,
> Accolit, Arpinas. VIII. 401.

This river is now called *Fiume della Posta*. The island has taken the name of *S. Domenico Abate*[1].

Somewhat to the south of the island was the town of Arpinum, still known by the name of *Arpino*, rendered for ever illustrious in the page of history for having given birth to two such men as C. Marius and M. Tullius Cicero. Of the former, who was born there A. U. C. 594, it is said by Juvenal,

Arpinum.

> Arpinas alius Volscorum in monte solebat
> Poscere mercedes alieno lassus aratro;
> Nodosam post hæc frangebat vertice vitem,
> Si lentus pigra muniret castra dolabra.
> Hic tamen et Cimbros, et summa pericula rerum
> Excipit; et solus trepidantem protegit urbem.
> Sat. VIII. 245.

(Cf. Sall. de Bell. Jug. 67. Val. Max. II. 2. and VI. 9.)

The same poet thus delineates the character of Cicero.

> Hic novus Arpinas ignobilis, et modo Romæ
> Municipalis eques galeatum ponit ubique
> Præsidium attonitis, et in omni gente laborat.
> Tantum igitur muros intra toga contulit illi
> Nominis et tituli, quantum non Leucade, quantum

[1] Romanelli, t. iii. p. 366—71.

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Thessaliæ campis Octavius abstulit udo
Cædibus assiduis gladio. Sed Roma parentem,
Roma patrem patriæ Ciceronem libera dixit.
SAT. VIII. 237.

Of Arpinum little else remains to be said. It originally belonged to the Volsci, but was taken by the Samnites, from whom it was again wrested by the Romans. (Liv. IX. 44.) It became a municipal town, and its citizens were enrolled in the Cornelian tribe. (Liv. X. 1. and XXXVIII. 36. Cic. Orat. pro Cn. Planc.) Of course frequent mention is made of Arpinum in Cicero's letters: he was fond of his native place, and dwells with complacency on the rude and primitive simplicity of its customs, applying to it those lines of the Odyssey, in which Ulysses expresses his love for Ithaca.

Τρηχεῖ', ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴ κουροτρόφος· οὔτι ἔγωγε
Ἧς γαίης δύναμαι γλυκερώτερον ἄλλο ἰδέσθαι.
ODYSS. I. 27.

Plutarch mentions a village in the neighbourhood, in which Marius lived many years of the earlier part of his life. This place he calls Cirrhæatæ. It is probably the same as the Cereatæ of Strabo. (V. 238.) Frontinus also speaks of the Cereatini Mariani. (Cf. Plin. III. 5.) Cereatæ.

To the south-east of Arpinum, and near the source of the river *Melfa*, we must look for Atina, one of the most ancient cities of the Volsci, and which, if we are to credit Virgil, was a considerable town as early as the Trojan war. Atina.

Quinque adeo magnæ positis incudibus urbes
Tela novant, Atina potens— ÆN. VII. 629.
Mari quietæ cultor, et comes vitæ,
Quo cive prisca gloriatur Atina. MART. X. EP. 92.

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Its situation, among the loftiest summits of the Appennines, is marked by Silius Italicus.

. . . . . nec monte nivoso
Descendens Atina aberat. VIII. 398.

Atina was taken by the Romans from the Samnites, who had become masters of it, as well as most of the towns in this district, A. U. C. 440. We learn from Cicero that it was a præfectura, and one of the most populous and distinguished in Italy. (Cic. pro Planc.) Frontinus says it was colonized during the reign of Nero; and an old inscription gives it the title of municipium. The modern name is *Atino*.

Cominium. To the north-east of Atina, and on the borders of Samnium, Italian topographers place Cominium, an ancient city, of which Livy is the only author who has made mention. (X. 38.) Cluverius has omitted to notice it, but Holstenius observed that it should be placed not far from the sources of the Fibrenus[m]. The exact situation of this town is said to answer to that of *S. Maria del Campo*, in the duchy of *Alvito*[n].

Melfis fl. Aquinum. If we now return to the Latin way, a little beyond the place where that road crosses the Liris and Melfis, now *Melfa*, we shall reach Aquinum, whose name is scarcely changed in that of *Aquino*[o]. Both Strabo (V. 237.) and Silius Italicus describe it as a large city.

. . . . . Arpinas, accita pube Venafro
Ac Larinatum dextris, socia hispidus arma
Commovet, atque viris ingens exhaurit Aquinum.
VIII. 404.

[m] Adnot. p. 223.
[n] Romanelli, t. iii. p. 357.
[o] The coins of this city have a head of Pallas, with a helmet; on the reverse a cock, with the legend AQUINO. Sestini Monet. Vet. &c. p. 12.

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Cicero likewise mentions it as a considerable town of municipal rank. (Plin. II.) It became also a colony about the time of the Triumviri. (Front. de Col. Plin. III. 5. Tacit. Hist. I. 88.) Aquinum was the birthplace of Juvenal, as that poet himself informs us.

. . . . . ergo vale nostri memor; et quoties te
Roma tuo refici properantem reddet Aquino;
Me quoque ad Helvinam Cererem, vestremque Dianam
Convelle a Cumis. SAT. III. 318.

Between Arpinum and Aquinum was a villa which belonged to Quintus Cicero, as we learn from letters addressed to him by his brother. (III. Ep. 1.) It was called Arcanum, from being situated near an ancient city, named Arx, and not Ἄξ, as we find it in Ptolemy. Mention is made of this town in several ancient inscriptions, and its remains still bear the name of *Rocca d'Arce*[p]. Lower down on the Liris, and between that river and a small stream now called *Sogne*, but the ancient name of which Strabo, who states the fact, has not mentioned, was situated the city of Interamna, distinguished by the addition of ad Lirim from two other cities of the same name already noticed in Umbria and Picenum. (Strab. V. 238.) According to Livy, it was colonized A. U. C. 440, (IX. 28.) and defended itself successfully against the Samnites, who made an attack upon it soon after. (Liv. X. 36.) Interamna is mentioned again by the same historian, when describing Hannibal's march from Capua towards Rome. (XXVI. 9.) We find its name subsequently among those of the refractory colonies of that war. (XXVII. 9.) Pliny informs

Arx.

Interamna.

[p] Cluver. Ital. Ant. II. p. 1046. Romanelli, t. iii. p. 375.

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us, that the Interamnates were surnamed Lirinates and Succasini. (III. 5.) In the following passage of Silius Italicus,

> . . . . . Arpinas, accita pube Venafro
> Ac Larinatum dextris, socia hispidus arma
> Commovet. VIII. 404.

I would propose reading, "Ac Lirinatum dextris," as the mention of Larinum, a town of Apulia, seems incongruous in this place, as well as XII. 174. Cluverius imagined that *Ponte Corvo* occupied the site of Interamna; but its situation agrees more nearly with that of a place called Terame Castrum, in old records, and the name of which is evidently a corruption of Interamna. Antiquaries assert that considerable ruins are still visible on this spot[q].

Casinum.

The last town of Latium, on the Latin way, as Strabo informs us, (V. 238.) was Casinum, a large and populous city, the site of which is now partly occupied by the modern town of *San Germano*. According to Varro, its name was derived from *Cascum*, an Oscan word, answering to the Latin *Vetus*. The same writer informs us that Casinum originally belonged to the Samnites, from whom it was conquered by the Romans. (de Ling. Lat. VI.) It was colonized, together with Interamna, A. U. C. 440. When Hannibal marched through Samnium, at the commencement of his third campaign in Italy, we are told that he had intended occupying Casinum, in order to prevent the dictator Fabius from advancing to the defence of Campania; but by an error of his guide he was led to Casilinum, a mistake

[q] Romanelli, t. iii. p. 384. See also the French Strabo Eclairciss. N°. 46.

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which might have involved him in the greatest difficulty, had he not devised the well known expedient by which he baffled the vigilance of his adversary, and extricated himself from his perilous situation. (Liv. XXII.)

Casinum was situated in a plain watered by several springs, which seem to have rendered the climate damp and foggy.

. . . . . Nymphisque habitata Casinis
Rura evastantur. SIL. ITAL. XII. 527.

. . . . . et nebulosi rura Casini.
ID. IV. 227.

Casinum is also noticed by Cato, (R. Rust. 135.) Cicero, (Phil. II.) and Pliny. (III. 5.)

On a hill near the town was the villa of M. Terentius Varro, often mentioned by himself, and more particularly described, R. Rust. III. 5. The river Vinius, which watered his grounds, probably answers to the Scatebra of Pliny, (II. 103.) and is now said to be named *Rapido*. Vinius fl.

AUSONES.

Before I proceed to discuss what remains of New Latium, it seems proper to make a few remarks on the subject of the Ausones, who are said to have once occupied that portion of Italy to which we are now arrived, and to have communicated the name of Ausonia to the whole of the peninsula. The Greeks indeed do not appear to have been acquainted with any inhabitants of that country more ancient than the Ausones; for, according to Dionysius, they were already settled there when Œnotrus made his expedition into Italy seventeen generations before the siege of Troy. (Dion. Hal. I. 11. Nicand. ap. Anton.

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Liber. 31.) Of the origin, however, of this early tribe we derive no satisfactory information from ancient writers. Antiochus of Syracuse and Aristotle both deemed them to be of the same race as the Opici. (Ant. Syrac. ap. Strab. V. 242. Aristot. Pol. VII.) Polybius, however, as quoted by Strabo, distinguished them from that people; (V. 242.) and the geographer himself speaks of the Ausones as a distinct people from the Oscans of Campania. (V. 232.) We might perhaps reconcile these two accounts by supposing that Antiochus and Aristotle used the term Opici generically to designate an indigenous Italian tribe. If a conjecture may be allowed on a question of such remote antiquity, I should be tempted to consider the Ausones, as well as the Aurunci, who are only another branch of the same family, as being of Iberian origin; in other words, as a remnant of the Sicanian migration. I would ground this conjecture, 1st, on the circumstance of Virgil's admitting the existence of such a remnant in Italy, and his frequent mention of the Sicani, Ausonii, and Aurunci at the same time;

> Est antiquus ager Tusco mihi proximus amni,
> Longus, in occasum, fines super usque Sicanos.
> Aurunci Rutulique serunt. ÆN. XI. 316.
>
> Tum manus Ausoniæ et gentes venere Sicanæ.
> VIII. 328.

2dly, on the fact of the Ausones having passed over into Sicily, as stated by Hellanicus of Lesbos; (ap. Dion. Hal. I. 22.) and lastly, on a remarkable similarity of nomenclature which may be traced between them and the ancient Iberians[r].

[r] For the detail of these analogies, I must refer the reader to a dissertation by Mons. Petit-Radel, published in the Mem.

But whatever may have been the extent and importance of the Ausonian nation at one time, we find it reduced to very narrow limits when its history becomes involved in that of Rome. They are mentioned only by Livy, on the occasion of their being engaged in hostilities with the Romans, and conquered, together with their allies and neighbours the Sidicini, A. U. C. 419. (Liv. VIII. 16.)

It is to be observed, that however other authors may have identified the Ausones and Aŭrunci, Livy evidently establishes a distinction between them; and though his account of the wars in which the latter tribe were engaged with the Romans is very confused, and leaves us much in doubt as to the extent of their territory, I should imagine he meant us to infer that the Aurunci occupied the mountainous tract of country which is contiguous to the Volsci[s], from whence they were driven afterwards to the Massic hills and the borders of Campania. (Liv. II. 16. and 17.) The Ausones appear to have occupied chiefly the plains adjacent to the Liris and the sea-coast. (Liv. IX. 25.) I shall have occasion to speak again of the Aurunci in the following section.

Resuming now the description of the Latin coast from Terracina, the first place which presents itself to our notice is Spelunca, a villa of Tiberius, where he frequently entertained his friends. It was so

Spelunca.

de l'Institut Royal, t. vi. p. 324. and entitled, Mem. sur les Origines des plus anciennes villes de l'Espagne. It will be necessary, however, to observe, that whereas the learned academician endeavours to prove that many of the Iberian cities derive their origin from Italy, I would on the contrary infer, from the analogies he adduces, that the latter country received at some early period part of its population from Iberia. History certainly rather favours this supposition than that of Mons. Petit-Radel.

[s] See a note on a passage of Strabo, p. 109.

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called from a natural grot in which it was constructed. On one occasion it is related, that the emperor and a party of guests were exposed to considerable danger from the falling in of a portion of the cave. (Tacit. Ann. IV. 59. Suet. Tib. 39. Strab. V. 233. Plin. III. 5.) The spot is easily recognised from the name of *Sperlonga*, now attached to it by modern corruption.

Fundi. The town of Fundi, which next follows, was situated more inland on the Appian way, and near a small lake, which, from that circumstance, obtained the name of Fundanus Lacus. (Strab. V. 234. Plin. III. 5. Mel. II. 4.) The first mention of Fundi in history occurs at the end of the Latin war, A. U. C. 417. when, with the exception of the right of voting, it obtained the privileges of a Roman city, from having always allowed a free passage to the Roman troops in their march into Campania. (Liv. VIII. 14.) Not long after, however, the Fundani incurred the displeasure of the senate for having secretly aided the city of Privernum in a hostile incursion into the Roman territory; but by a timely submission they escaped the threatened vengeance. Fundi received the right of voting A. U. C. 564, and its citizens were enrolled in the Æmilian tribe. (Liv. XXXVIII. 36.) It was subsequently colonized by the veteran soldiers of Augustus. (Front. de Col.) Horace's description of the ridiculous importance assumed by the prætor of Fundi will be in the recollection of most readers.

> Fundos Aufidio Lusco prætore libenter
> Linquimus: insani ridentes præmia scribæ,
> Prætextam, et latum clavum, prunæque batillum.
>
> I. Sat. 5.

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The other authors who have noticed this town are Cic. ad Att. XIV. Ep. 6. Suet. Tib. 5. Galb. 8. and Sil. Ital. VIII. According to Pliny, the Lacus Fundanus, which is mentioned by Tacitus, (Hist. III. 69.) was formerly called Amyclanus, from the ancient Amyclæ, a city, as it is said, of Greek origin, and concerning the destruction of which strange tales were related. According to some accounts, it was infested, and finally rendered desolate, by serpents. (Plin. III. 5. who also quotes Varro to the same effect, VIII. 39. Isigon. ap. Sot. de Mir. Font. &c.) Another tradition represented the fall of Amyclæ as having been the result of the silence enjoined by law to its inhabitants, in order to put a stop to the false rumours of hostile attacks which had so frequently been circulated. The enemy at last, however, really appeared, and finding the town in a defenceless state, it was destroyed. This account is in general acceptation with the poets.

Fundanus vel Amyclanus Lacus. Amyclæ.

> Magnanimo Volscente satum, ditissimus agri
> Qui fuit Ausonidûm, et tacitis regnavit Amyclis.
>
> Æn. X. 563[t].
>
> . . . . . quasque evertere silentia, Amyclæ.
>
> Sil. Ital. VIII. 530.
>
> Perdidi Musam Silentio; nec me Phœbus respicit.
> Sic Amyclas cum tacerent perdidit silentium.
>
> Vet. Epigr.

Amyclæ appears to have transmitted its name to the sea on which it stood; for Tacitus (Ann. IV.) and Pliny (XIII. 6.) speak of the Amyclanum mare and Amyclanus sinus. The neighbouring district was the Cæcubus Ager, so celebrated for the excellence of its wine.

[t] See the note of Servius to this passage.

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Cæcubum, et prælo domitam Caleno
Tu bibes uvam. HOR. I. OD. 20.

Absumet hæres Cæcuba dignior
Servata centum clavibus; et mero
Tinget pavimentum superbo,
Pontificum potiore cœnis. ID. II. OD. 14.

Cæcuba Fundanis generosa coquuntur Amyclis;
Vitis et in media nata palude viret.
MART. XIII. EP. 115.

(Strab. V. 234. Col. R. Rust. III. 8. Dioscorid. V. 10.) According to Pliny, the cultivation of this vine was considerably injured in consequence of some works undertaken by Nero in this vicinity. (Plin. XIV. 6.)

Caieta.

The next town on the sea is Caieta, with its port and promontory, said to have been named from the nurse of Æneas.

Tu quoque litoribus nostris, Æneia nutrix,
Æternam moriens famam, Caieta, dedisti:
Et nunc servat honos sedem tuus. ÆN. VII. 1.

. . . . . urnaque Æneia nutrix
Condita marmorea, tumulo breve carmen habebat:
Hic me Caietan notæ pietatis alumnus,
Ereptam Argolico, quo debuit igne, cremavit.
OVID. METAM. XIV. 442.

Non blanda Circe, Dardanisve Caieta
Desiderantur. MART. X. EP. 30.

Others have asserted that it was so called by the Argonauts from Æetes, father of Medea. (Lycoph. Alex. v. 1274. Diod. Sic. IV.) A third account is that of Strabo, who states, that some Spartans having settled on that coast, named this place Καίατα, a word which in their language signified a cave. (V. 234.) The harbour of Caieta, now *Gaeta*, was considered one of the finest and most commodious in Italy.

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Cicero laments, on one occasion, that so noble a port should be subject to the depredations of pirates even in open day. (Pro Leg. Man. Cf. Flor. I. 16. Jul. Capitol. Antonin.)

Ecce autem flatu classis Phœnissa secundo
Litora Caietæ, Læstrygoniosque recessus
Sulcabat rostris, portusque intrabat apertos.
SIL. ITAL. VII. 409.

Tum se ad Caietæ recto fert litore portum.
Anchora de prora jacitur, stant litore puppes.
ÆN. VI. 906.

Formiæ, now *Mola di Gaeta*, is a town of acknowledged antiquity, and is looked upon by the most ancient writers as the abode and capital of the Læstrygons, which Homer speaks of in the Odyssey, and where his hero met with so inhospitable a reception. The description of the place, however, is so indefinite, though it may agree in the principal features, that unless the consenting voice of antiquity had fixed upon this spot as the scene of Ulysses's disaster, we could have had no clue for discovering in Formiæ the seat of these savage cannibals[u]. Every one, however, is at liberty to indulge his fancy with the supposition that the harbour which Homer describes was actually that of *Gaeta*, and he may there recognise in it "the tow-"ering rocks, the prominent shores, and the narrow "entrance[x]." Formiæ.

Ἐξῆμαρ μὲν ὁμῶς πλέομεν νύκτας τε καὶ ἦμαρ·
Ἑβδομάτῃ δ' ἱκόμεσθα Λάμου αἰπὺ πτολίεθρον,
Τηλέπυλον Λαιστρυγονίην, &c. ODYSS. K. 80.

[u] According to tradition, the Læstryones were the earliest inhabitants of Sicily, but sober writers regarded the existence of this people as the invention of poets. Thuc. VI. 2. Cf. Polyb. ap. Strab. I. 20.

[x] Eustace's Classical Tour, vol. ii. p. 367.

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And if there be a fountain near the town, it will serve to represent the fair flowing Artacia.

Κούρη δὲ ξύμβλητο πρὸ ἄστεος ὑδρευούσῃ,
Θυγατρὶ ἰφθίμῃ Λαιστρυγόνος Ἀντιφάταο.
Ἣ μὲν ἄρ' ἐς κρήνην κατεβήσετο καλλιρέεθρον
Ἀρτακίην, ἔνθεν γὰρ ὕδωρ προτὶ ἄστυ φέρεσκον·
ODYSS. K. 105.

The Latin poets follow Homer closely.

Inde Lami veterem Læstrygonis, inquit, in urbem
Venimus. Antiphates terra regnabat in illa. &c.
OVID. METAM. XIV. 233.

Incultos adiit Læstrygonas, Antiphatenque,
Nobilis Artacie gelida quos irrigat unda.
TIBUL. IV. EL. 1.

Fundique, et regnata Lamo Caieta; domusque
Antiphatæ, compressa freto. SIL. ITAL. VIII. 531.

Æli, vetusto nobilis ab Lamo,
Per memores genus omne fastos
Auctore ab illo ducit originem,
Qui Formiarum mœnia dicitur
Princeps, et innantem Maricæ
Litoribus tenuisse Lirim,
Late tyrannus. HOR. III. OD. 17.

See also Cic. ad Att. II. Ep. 13. Plin. III. 5. According to Strabo, (V. 233.) Formiæ was a Laconian colony, and its first appellation was Hormiæ, in allusion to the excellent anchorage which its port afforded to vessels. (Cf. Plin. III. 5. Fest.) The history of Formiæ, under the empire of Rome, is very similar to that of Fundi; like that town it received early most of the privileges of a Roman city. (Liv. VIII. 14.) It was inscribed also in the Æmilian tribe, (XXXVIII. 36.) and was also a colony. (Front. de Col.) But Formiæ is chiefly interesting

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from having been long a favourite residence of Cicero, and finally the scene of the tragical event which terminated his existence. He sometimes talks of his retreat here as his Caietan villa, (ad Att. I. Ep. 2. and 3.) but more commonly terms it his Formianum. (II. Ep. 4. 8. and 10. &c.) He appears to have resided there during the most turbulent part of the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey; for in one of his letters to Atticus he mentions a long conference he held with the latter at this place; and from which he inferred, that no alternative was left but that of war. (VII. Ep. 8.) As Plutarch best describes the close of Cicero's life, I shall present the reader with his narrative of that melancholy catastrophe.

After having related the circumstance of his departure from Astura, and his subsequent return to land, caused by the perplexed and agitated state of his mind, Plutarch thus proceeds: "He resigned him-"self to the guidance of his attendants, allowing "them to make sail for Caieta, where he had an es-"tate and villa, the situation of which was delightful "during the summer season, when the etesian breezes "are most grateful. There was also a temple sacred "to Apollo raised a little above the sea. On his ap-"proach to land, a flight of crows rose from this "building, and with loud croaking advanced towards "the bark. They perched on either side of the "yard, chattering and pecking at the rigging: this "appeared to all an ill omen. Cicero having landed, "and entered the villa, laid himself down to rest: "the crows, however, with confused cries surrounded "the window, and one of them even alighted on the "bed where he lay covered up, and withdrew from

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" his face part of the clothing. His servants on see-
" ing this reproached themselves for being idle spec-
" tators of his death, and neglecting the means for
" his defence, whilst even animals afforded him their
" aid, and testified solicitude for his misfortunes.
" Partly by entreaty then, and partly by force, they
" placed him in a litter, and conveyed him to the
" seaside. At this moment the murderers came up;
" these were the centurion Herennius and Popilius
" the tribune, for whom Cicero had pleaded when
" accused of parricide, attended by their satellites.
" Perceiving the gates closed, they knocked for ad-
" mittance. But when Cicero did not appear, and
" none of the inmates could state where he was, it
" is said that a certain youth named Philologus, who
" had been brought up by Cicero, and through him
" had received a liberal education, and was likewise a
" freedman of his brother Quintus, pointed out to
" the tribune the litter which was being carried
" through the plantations and shady walks to the
" sea. The tribune, accompanied by a few of his
" men, then hastened round to the outlet. On Ci-
" cero's perceiving Herennius advancing rapidly
" down the walk, he ordered his servants to set
" down the litter, and then, as was his custom, plac-
" ing his left hand on his chin, steadfastly eyed the
" assassins. His face was so care worn, squalid, and
" overspread with hair, that most of these men co-
" vered themselves, whilst Herennius gave the fatal
" stroke. He received it on his neck as he stretched
" it out of the litter, being then in his sixty-fourth
" year. The assassin cut off, by order of Antony, his
" head, and the hands which had written the Philip-
" pics." (Cf. App. Civ. Bell. IV. 19. Val. Max. I. 4.

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Senec. Suas. Decl. VI. Euseb. Chron. II. Cassiod. Chron. Aurel. Vict. de Vir. Illustr.) In the reign of Augustus we find Formiæ distinguished as the birth-place and residence of Mamurra, a Roman senator of enormous wealth; hence the appellation by which Horace designates it in the narrative of his journey to Brundusium.

> In Mamurrarum lassi deinde urbe manemus,
> Murena præbente domum, Capitone culinam.
>
> SAT. I. 5.

(Plin. XXXVI. 6. Cic. ad Att. VII. Ep. 7.) The retirement and ease which this delightful spot afforded is well described by Martial.

> O temperatæ dulce Formiæ litus,
> Vos, quum severi fugit oppidum Martis,
> Et inquietas fessus exuit curas,
> Apollinaris omnibus locis præfert.—
> Hic summa leni stringitur Thetis vento:
> Nec languet æquor: viva sed quies ponti
> Pictam Phaselon adjuvante fert aura:
> Sicut puellæ non amantis æstatem
> Mota salubre purpura venit frigus.
> Nec seta longe quærit in mari prædam,
> Sed a cubiclo, lectuloque jactatam
> Spectatus alte lineam trahit piscis.
> Si quando Nereus sentit Æoli regnum,
> Ridet procellas tuta de suo mensa.
> Piscina, rhombum pascit, et lupos vernas;
> Natat ad magistrum delicata muræna,
> Nomenculator mugilem citat notum,
> Et adesse jussi prodeunt senes mulli.
> Frui sed istis quando Roma permittis?
> Quot Formianos imputat dies annus
> Negotiosis rebus urbis hærenti?
> O vinitores, villicique felices,
> Dominis parantur ista, serviunt vobis. X. EP. 30.

The Formian hills are often extolled for the superior wine which they produced.

> . . . . . mea nec Falernæ
> Temperant vites, neque Formiani
> Pocula colles. HOR. I. OD. 20.

> Quanquam nec Calabræ mella ferunt apes,
> Nec Læstrygonia Bacchus in amphora
> Languescit mihi.— ID. III. OD. 16.

Minturnæ. About nine miles further, on the Appian way, was Minturnæ, situated on the Liris, and only three or four miles from its mouth; its extensive ruins sufficiently mark the place which it occupied. (Strab. V. 233. Ptol. p. 66. Plin. III. 5. Mel. II. 4.) We are informed by Livy, that this town belonged to the Ausones; (VIII. 25.) but when that nation ceased to exist, Minturnæ fell into the hands of the Romans, by whom it was colonized A. U. C. 456. (Liv. X. 21. Vell. Paterc. I. 14. Dion. Hal. I. 9.) It was one of those maritime towns which were required to furnish sailors and naval stores for the Roman fleets. (Liv. XXVII. 38. and XXVI. 3.) According to Frontinus, another colony was afterwards sent there under the direction of Julius Cæsar; but Minturnæ is chiefly known in history from the events by which it was connected with the fallen fortunes of Marius. This general, in endeavouring to effect his escape into Africa from the pursuit of the victorious Sylla, was forced to put in at the mouth of the Liris; when after being put on shore, and abandoned by the crew of the vessel, he sought shelter in the cottage of an old peasant. But this retreat not affording the concealment requisite to skreen him from the pursuit which was now set on

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foot, Marius had no other resource left but to plunge into the marshes, with which the neighbourhood of Minturnæ abounds. Here, though almost buried in the mud, he could not escape from his vigilant pursuers, but was dragged out and conducted to Minturnæ, and thrown into a dungeon. A ruffian was shortly after sent to despatch him; but this man, a Cimbrian by birth, could not, as the historians relate, face the destroyer of his nation, though unarmed, in chains, and in his seventieth year; such was still the glare of his eye and the terror of his voice. Struck with this circumstance, the magistrates of Minturnæ determined to set Marius at liberty, since such seemed to be the will of Heaven. They further equipped a vessel which was destined to convey him to Africa. (Plut. in Mar.)

> Exilium, et carcer, Minturnarumque paludes,
> Et mendicatus victa Carthagine panis,
> Hinc causas habuere.— Juv. Sat. X. 276.

(Cf. Liv. Epit. LXXVII. Appian. Civ. Bell. I. 61. Vell. Paterc. II. 19. Val. Max. I. 5. and II. 10. Cic. pro Planc. et pro P. Sext. Senec. Controv. III. 17.)

The marshes of Minturnæ are alluded to by Horace,

> Vina bibes iterum Tauro diffusa, palustres
> Inter Minturnas Sinuessanumque Petrinum.
> I. Epist. V.

and also by Ovid, (Metam. XV. 716.)

> Minturnæque graves, et quam tumulavit alumnus.

The grove and temple of the nymph Marica, supposed by some to have been the mother of Latinus, and by others thought to be Circe, (Virg. Æn. VII. Lucus Maricæ.

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47. Lact. de fals. Rel. I. 21.) were close to Minturnæ, and held in the highest veneration. (Strab. V. 233. Liv. XXVII. 37.)

. . . . . et umbrosæ Liris per regna Maricæ.
LUCAN. II. 424.

Cæruleus nos Liris amat, quem silva Maricæ
Protegit. — MART. XIII. EP. 83.

. . . . . flavæque terens querceta Maricæ
Liris. — CLAUD. PANEG. DE PROB. ET OL. CONS.

Liris fl. According to Strabo, the river Liris was once called Clanis; (V. 233. Cf. Plin. III. 5.) the former geographer, in describing its course, says, "that it "takes its rise in the Apennines, and flowing through "the country of the Vestini[y], falls into the sea be-"low Minturnæ." This river is particularly noticed by the poets for the sluggishness of its stream.

Non æstuosæ grata Calabriæ
Armenta: non aurum, aut ebur Indicum;
Non rura, quæ Liris quieta
Mordet aqua taciturnus amnis. HOR. I. OD. 31.

Fit socius leti conjecta Massicus hasta,
Vitiferi sacro generatus vertice montis,
Et Liris nutritus aquis, qui fonte quieto
Dissimulat cursum, ac, nullo mutabilis imbri,
Perstringit tacitas gemmanti gurgite ripas.
SIL. ITAL. IV. 348.

Pyræ. A town named Pyræ is stated by Pliny to have once stood on the coast between Formiæ and Minturnæ. (III. 5.) This name would seem to indicate a Greek origin.

A few miles north of Minturnæ, and near the

[y] This word is probably corrupt; we ought perhaps to read Vescini.

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source of the little river *Ausente*, Italian topographers place Ausona, once probably, as its name implies, the capital of the Ausones; but of the existence of such a place we should have remained ignorant, had not Livy mentioned it as having been surprised by a Roman force, when a cruel massacre of the unfortunate inhabitants ensued. (IX. 25.) The plain in which the remains of this ancient town have been discovered is said to retain still the name of *Ausonia*[z]. Ausona.

Vescia, another city belonging to the Ausones, was on the left bank of the Liris, and somewhat to the south-east of Minturnæ. It was taken by the Romans, together with that town and Ausona. (Liv. loc. cit.)

Prior to this event, it is stated by the same historian that the Latins withdrew to Vescia, after having experienced a severe defeat in Campania; but they once more hazarded an engagement near a place called Trifanum in its vicinity, and were again unsuccessful. (VIII. 11.) The Ager Vescinus is oftener mentioned than the city, and appears to have extended from the Liris to the Falernian district; it answers to the modern *demanio di Sessa*[a]. (Liv. X. 21. Cic. Orat. I. de Leg. Agr.) Trifanum.

The last town of New Latium is Sinuessa, a Roman colony of some note, situated close to the sea, and founded as it is said on the ruins of Sinope, an ancient Greek city. (Liv. X. 21. Plin. III. 5. Mel. II. 4.) Sinuessa.

. . . . . niveisque frequens Sinuessa columbis.
OVID. METAM. XV. 715.

[z] Romanelli, t. iii. p. 438. [a] Ibid. p. 434.

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Strabo tells us, that Sinuessa stood on the shore of the Sinus Vescinus, and derived its name from that circumstance. (V. 234.) The same writer, (V. 237.) as well as the Itineraries, informs us that it was traversed by the Appian way; Horace also confirms this.

> Postera lux oritur multo gratissima: namque
> Plotius et Varius Sinuessæ, Virgiliusque
> Occurrunt: animæ, quales neque candidiores
> Terra tulit, neque queis me sit devinctior alter.
> O qui complexus, et gaudia quanta fuerunt!
> Nil ego contulerim jucundo sanus amico.
>
> I. Sat. V. 39.

Sinuessa was colonized together with Minturnæ A. U. C. 456. (Liv. X. 21.) and ranked also among the maritime cities of Italy. (Id. XXVII. 38. Polyb. III. 91.) Its territory suffered considerable devastation from Hannibal's troops when opposed to Fabius. Cæsar, in his pursuit of Pompey, halted for a few days at Sinuessa, and from thence wrote a very conciliatory letter to Cicero, which is to be found in the correspondence with Atticus. (IX. Ep. 16.)

The epithet of *tepens*, which Silius Italicus applies to this city, (VIII. 529.) has reference to some warm sources in its neighbourhood, now called *Bagni;* while Sinuessa itself answers to the rock of *Monte Dragone.* The Aquæ Sinuessanæ are noticed by Livy. XXII. 14. Tacit. Hist. I. 77. and Ann. XII. 66. Plut. Oth. Dio. Cass. XLVII. Plin. XXXI. 2. and Martial,

Aquæ Sinuessanæ.

> Nullæ sic tibi blandientur undæ,
> Nec fontes Aponi rudes puellis,
> Non mollis Sinuessa. VI. Ep. 42.

There now only remain to be noticed the few

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islands which lie off the coast of Latium; these form a group to the number of three, distant about twenty miles to the south of the Circeian promontory. The nearest to the land is Sinonia, now *Senone;* (Mel. II. 7. Plin. III. 5.) Palmaria, now *Palmaruola*, is more to the west. But the island of Pontia, *Ponza*, was the most considerable, as well as the most populous. (Strab. V. 234.) From Livy we learn that it received a Roman colony A. U. C. 441. (IX. 38. Diod. Sic. XIX.) and that it obtained the thanks of the Roman senate for its zeal and fidelity in the second Punic war. It became afterwards the spot to which the victims of Tiberius and Caligula were secretly conveyed, to be afterwards despatched, or doomed to a perpetual exile: (Suet. Tib. 54. Cal. 15.) among these might be numbered many Christian martyrs.

Sinonia insula.
Palmaria insula.
Pontia insula.

ROMAN WAYS.

In describing the different roads which traversed Latium, I shall notice them in their order as they severally branched off from Rome, their common centre. The first is the Via Ostiensis, which, as its name sufficiently implies, led to Ostia, commencing at the Porta Trigemina; or, if we take a later period, at the Porta Ostiensis, now *Porta S. Paolo*[b]. The distance, according to the Itineraries, being

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Roma		M. P.
Ostia	*Ostia* - - -	XVI.

The Via Laurentina branched off from this road about two miles from Rome, and terminated at Lau-

[b] Vulp. Vet. Lat. l. xi. c. 5. Nibby, delle vie degli Ant. p. 131.

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rentum. We have no account of this Roman way in the Itineraries, but we are informed of its existence from Ovid:

> Est via, quæ populum Laurentes ducit in agros,
> Dardanio quondam regna petita duci.
>
> FAST. II. 679.

and its direction has been accurately traced by Holstenius and Vulpius [c].

The next road is the Via Ardeatina, which evidently was intended to establish a communication with Ardea, distant, as we have seen, about twenty miles from Rome.

The only author by whom it is mentioned is Festus, who quotes Cato. (v. Retricibus.) We are assured, however, by Vulpius and others, that the track of the Via Ardeatina is still apparent, and that it branched off again into the Appian way. This cross-road is thought by some to be the Via Numicii, of which Horace speaks [d]. (I. Ep. 18.)

> Ambigitur quid enim? Castor sciat an Docilis plus;
> Brundusium Minuci melius via ducat, an Appi.

But it is now understood that this route, of which I shall have again occasion to speak, lay in quite a different direction. I may here observe, that there was also a road which followed the line of the coast from Ostia to Tarracina, it was called Severiana, having been constructed, or more probably repaired, by order of the emperor Severus, as we learn from ancient inscriptions [e].

The distances are thus given in the Table.

[c] Adnot. p. 173. Vulp. Vet. Lat. l. x. c. 2.

[d] Vulp. Vet. Lat. l. ix. c. 6.

[e] Id. l. ix. p. 226.

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Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Ostiis	*Ostia* - -	M. P.
Laurentum	*Paterno* - -	XVI.[f]
Lavinium	*Pratica* - -	VI.
Antium	*Anzo* - -	XVII.
Asturam	*Astura* - -	VII.
Claustra	- - - -	IX.
ad Turres Albas	*Mura di S. Donato*	IV.
Circeios	*Circeo* - -	XXIII.
ad Turres	*Torre Olevola* -	IV.
Tarracinam	*Terracina* - -	IX.

The Appian way was the most celebrated of the Roman roads, both on account of its length and the difficulties which it was necessary to overcome in its construction.

. . . . . qua limite noto
Appia longarum teritur Regina viarum.
STAT. SILV. II. 2.

It was made, as Livy informs us, (IX. 29.) by the censor Appius Cæcus, A. U. C. 442. and in the first instance was only laid down as far as Capua, a distance of about a thousand stadia, or an hundred and twenty-five miles; but even this portion of the work, according to the account of Diodorus Siculus, was executed in so expensive a manner, that it exhausted the public treasury. (Diod. Sic. V.) From Capua it was subsequently carried on to Beneventum, and finally to Brundusium, when this port became the great place of resort for those who were desirous of crossing over into Greece and Asia Minor. (Strab. VI. 283.) This latter part of the Appian way is supposed to have been constructed by the consul

[f] This number should be VI.

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App. Claudius Pulcher, grandson of Cæcus, A. U. C. 504. and to have been completed by another consul of the same family thirty-six years after. We find frequent mention made of repairs done to this road, by the Roman emperors, and more particularly by Trajan, both in the histories of the time and also in ancient inscriptions, some of which have already been noticed in describing the Pontine marshes.

This road seems to have been still in excellent order in the time of Procopius, who gives a very good account of the manner in which it was constructed. He says, "An expeditious traveller might "very well perform the journey from Rome to Ca- "pua in five days. Its breadth is such as to admit "of two carriages passing each other. Above all "others, this way is worthy of notice: for the stones "which were employed on it are of an extremely "hard nature, and were doubtless conveyed by Ap- "pius from some distant quarry, as the adjoining "country furnishes none of that kind. These, when "they had been cut smooth and squared, he fitted "together closely without using iron or any other "substance; and they adhere so firmly to each other, "that they appear to have been thus formed by na- "ture, and not cemented by art. And though they "have been travelled over by so many beasts of "burden and carriages for ages, yet they do not seem "to have been any wise moved from their place, or "broken, nor to have lost any part of their original "smoothness." (Procop. Bell. Got. III.)

I shall now proceed to detail the stations and distances on this route, as far as it extended through Latium to the borders of Campania, according to the Itinerary of Antoninus and that of Jerusalem.

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Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Roma		M. P.
Ariciam	*la Riccia*	XVI.
Tres Tabernas	*le Castella*	XVII.[g]
Appii Forum	*Borgo lungo*	X.[h]
Tarracinam	*Terracina*	XVIII.
Fundos	*Fondi*	XVI.
Formias	*Mola di Gaeta*	XIII.
Minturnas	*Minturne*	IX.
Sinuessam	*Mondragone*	IX.

According to the Jerusalem Itinerary.

Roma		
ad Nonum	*Frattochie*	IX.[i]
Ariciam et Albanum	*la Riccia*	VII.
ad Sponsas	*Tor Vergata*	XIIII.[k]
Appii Forum	*Borgo lungo*	VII.
ad Medias	*Mesa*	IX.
Tarracinam	*Terracina*	X.
Fundos	*Fondi*	XIII.
Formias	*Mola di Gaeta*	XII.
Minturnas	*Minturne*	IX.
Sinuessam	*Mondragone*	IX.

The next road which presents itself to our notice is the Via Latina, which has been already alluded to more than once. It commenced at the Porta Capena, and fell into the Via Appia at Beneventum. Of its formation we have no account, but it was certainly of great antiquity, and existed probably before

[g] This number should be VII. At the Tres Tabernæ a road branched off to the left, leading to Antium, while to the right it extended to Velitræ. Holsten. Adnot. p. 210.

[h] Read XVI.

[i] This station is the same as Bovillæ in the Table.

[k] Between Aricia and this station another intervenes in the Table under the name of Sub-Lanuvio, marking apparently the proximity of the road to the city of Lanuvium.

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the Romans had conquered Latium. The distances in the Itinerary of Antoninus are marked as follows:

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Roma		M. P.
ad Decimum	- - - -	X.
Roborariam	*la Molara* - -	VI.
ad Pictas	*le Maccre* - -	XVII.[1]
Compitum Anagninum	*Villamagna* -	XV.
Ferentinum	*Ferentino* - -	VIII.
Frusinonem	*Frosinone* - -	VII.
Fregellanum	- - - -	XIIII.
Fabrateriam	*Falvaterra* - -	III.
Aquinum	*Aquino* - -	VIII.
Casinum	*S. Germano* - -	IX.

The Via Lavicana, so called from its passing close to the ancient city of Lavicum, communicated with the Via Latina. Its stations are thus described in the Itinerary of Antoninus.

Roma		M. P.
ad Quintanas	*li Quadri* - -	XV.
ad Pictas	*le Maccre* - -	X.
ad Bivium	*S. Ilario* - -	V.

Here it met the Via Latina.

The Via Prænestina, like the Via Lavicana, issued from the Porta Esquilina, and fell into the Via Latina. Its stages are,

Roma		M. P.
Gabios	*Castiglione* - -	XII.
Præneste	*Palestrina* - -	XI.
Sub Anagnia	*Villamagna* -	XXIIII.

Here it joined the Via Latina.

The road leading to Tibur has been already noticed as forming part of the Via Valeria.

[1] This number should be VII.

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SECTION X.

CAMPANIA.

History and revolutions of this province under the Oscans, Tuscans, Greeks, and Campanians—Its soil, climate, and boundaries—Description of the coast and the adjacent islands—Of the interior—Public roads.

It will have been observed that the whole of Italy to which our inquiry has hitherto extended itself appears to have been subject, from the remotest ages, to great vicissitudes in regard to its population. We shall not therefore be surprised at finding this to have been the case, in a still greater degree, in the fairest and most fertile of its provinces. All ancient writers who have treated of Italy bear witness to the frequent change of inhabitants which Campania more particularly has undergone in the course of its history. Attracted by the fertility of its soil, the beauty of its climate, and the commodiousness of its havens, successive invaders poured in and dispossessed each other, until the superior ascendency of Rome left her the undisputed mistress of this garden of Italy. From these repeated contentions arose, as Strabo asserts, the fiction of the battle between the gods and giants in the Phlegræan plains. (V. 243. Polyb. II. 17.)

It is universally agreed that the first settlers in Campania with whom history makes us acquainted are the Oscans. (Antioch. Syrac. ap. Strab. V. 234.

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Polyb. ap. eund. Plin. III. 5.) Of this most ancient Italian tribe I have already spoken in the introductory account of Italy, as well as in other parts of this work. It will be seen from thence how widely diffused was the Oscan name, so much so, that the term Opici[m] was at one time synonymous with that of Itali in the minds of the Greeks. (Thuc. VI. 4. Plat. ad Dion. Ep. 8. Aristot. ap. Dion. Hal. I. 72.) It has also been observed, that the dissemination of this vast Italian family was commensurate with that of its language, of which we yet possess some few remains[n], and which is known to have been a dialect still in use in the best days of Roman literature: even when the Oscan name had disappeared from the rest of Italy, this language was retained by the inhabitants of Campania, though mingled with the dialects of the various tribes which successively obtained possession of that much prized country.

Of these the next to be mentioned are the Tuscans, who are stated to have extended their dominion at an early period both to the north and south of that portion of Italy which is considered as more properly belonging to them. When they had effected the conquest of Campania, that province became the seat of a particular empire, and received the federal form of government, centred in twelve principal cities, which has been already noticed as a striking political feature in the history of this nation. (Strab. V. 242. Liv. IV. 37. Polyb. II. 17. Plin. III. 5.) Wealth and luxury, however, soon produced their usual effects on the conquerors of

[m] The genuine form of this name seems to have been Obsci, from which the Greeks formed that of Opici, and the Latins that of Osci. (Fest. v. Oscum.)

[n] Lanzi, vol. iii. p. 607.

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Campania, and they in their turn fell an easy prey to the attacks of the Samnites, and were compelled to admit these hardy warriors to share with them the possession and enjoyment of these sunny plains. This observation, however, applies more particularly to Capua and its district, which was surprised by a Samnite force, A. U. C. 331. (Liv. IV. 44.) It is from this period that we must date the origin of the Campanian nation, which appears to have been thus composed of Oscans, Tuscans, Samnites, and Greeks, the latter having formed, as we shall presently see, numerous colonies on these shores. About eighty years after, the Romans gladly seized the opportunity of adding so valuable a portion of Italy to their dominions, under the pretence of defending the Campanians against their former enemies the Samnites. From this time Campania may be regarded as subject to Rome, if we except that short interval in which the brilliant successes of Hannibal withdrew its inhabitants from their allegiance, an offence which they were made to expiate by a punishment, the severity of which has few examples in the history, not of Rome only, but of nations. (Liv. XXVI. 14. et seq.)

The natural advantages of Campania, its genial climate and fertile soil, so rich in various productions, are a favourite theme with Latin writers, and elicit from them many an eloquent and animated tribute of admiration. Thus Cicero calls it "fundum pulcherrimum populi Romana, caput pecuniæ, pacis ornamentum, subsidium belli, fundamentum vectigalium, horreum legionum, solatium annonæ." Its inhabitants he describes as "semper superbi bonitate agrorum, et fructuum mag-

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" nitudine, aeris salubritate, et regionis pulchritu-
" dine." (Orat. II. de Leg. Agr.) Florus does not scruple to say, " Omnium non modo Italia, sed toto orbe
" terrarum pulcherrima Campaniæ plaga est: nihil
" mollius cœlo, ubi bis floribus vernat; nihil uberius
" solo, ideo Liberi, Cererisque certamen dicitur; ni-
" hil hospitalius mari." (I. 16.) Finally, Pliny styles it, " felix illa Campania—certamen humanæ volup-
" tatis."

Before Latium had been extended beyond the Liris, that river formed the natural boundary of Campania to the north; but after this change in the limits of the two provinces, the Massic hills were considered as the boundary by which they were separated. To the east Campania was divided from Samnium by a branch of the Apennines, called Mons Tifata. To the south, the river Silarus, now *Sele*, if we include Ager Picentinus within the confines of Campania, will serve as the limit common to that province and Lucania.

Resuming the description of the coast from Sinuessa, the last maritime town of Latium, we must
Savo fl. cross the little river Savo, now *Savone;* (Plin. III. 5.)

. . . . . pigerque Savo.
STAT. SILV. IV. 3.

Vulturnus fl. also the Vulturnus, now *Volturno*, a much more considerable stream, and often mentioned in the classic page.

. . . . . multamque trahens sub gurgite arenam
Vulturnus. OVID. METAM. XV. 714.
. . . . . delabitur inde
Vulturnusque celer. LUCAN. II. 422.
Vulturnusque rapax.
CLAUD. PANEG. CONS. PROB. ET OL.

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. . . . . Sinuessa tepens, fluctuque sonorum
Vulturnum. SIL. ITAL. VIII. 529.

(Cf. Varr. de Ling. Lat. IV. Polyb. III. 92. Plut. Fab. Max.) A magnificent bridge with a triumphal arch was thrown over this river by Domitian, when he caused a road to be constructed from Sinuessa to Puteoli; a work which Statius has undertaken to eulogize in some hundred lines of indifferent poetry. I shall only present the reader with those in which allusion is made to the river in question.

At flavum caput, humidumque late
Crinem mollibus impeditus ulvis,
Vulturnus levat ora, maximoque
Pontis Cæsarei reclinis arcu,
Pandis talia faucibus redundat. SILV. IV. 3.

(Cf. Dio. Cass. LXVII.) At the mouth of this river, and on the left bank, was a town of the same name, now *Castel di Volturno*. (Strab. V. 24. Mel. II. 4. Plin. III. 5. Ptol. p. 66.) The origin of this city is probably Etruscan, but we do not find it named in history until it became a Roman colony, A. U. C. 558. (Liv. XXXIV. 45. Varr. loc. cit.) According to Frontinus, a second colony was sent there by Cæsar. (de Col.) Festus includes it among the præfecturæ. Vulturnum.

Beyond was the town of Liternum, so celebrated as the spot to which Scipio Africanus retired into voluntary exile, and where he is also commonly said to have terminated his illustrious career. Its situation has been disputed; but antiquaries seem now agreed in fixing the site of the town at a place called *Torre di Patria*. The difficulty arose chiefly from the mention of a river of the same name by some of the ancient writers. (Strab. V. 243. Liv. XXXII. Liternum.

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29.) This river can be no other than that which rises in the Apennines above Nola, and flowing at no great distance from Acerræ, discharges its waters into the sea near Liternum. Virgil and Silius Italicus mention it under the name of Clanius, which it still retains under the corrupt form of *Lagno*.

Clanius vel Liternus fl.

. . . . . et vacuis Clanius non æquus Acerris.
VIRG. GEORG. II. 225.
. . . . . Clanio contemptæ semper Acerræ.
SIL. ITAL. VIII. 537.

(Cf. Dion. Hal. VII. 3. Lycophr. v. 718.) This stream is apt to stagnate near its entrance into the sea, and to form marshes anciently known as the Palus Literna, now *Lago di Patria*.

Literna Palus.

Hæc dum stagnosi spectat templumque domosque
Literni ductor. SIL. ITAL. VI. 653.
. . . . . stagnisque palustre
Liternum. ID. VIII. 532.
. . . . . undosis squalida terris
Hinc Literna palus. ID. VII. 278.
Hinc calidi fontes, lentisciferumque tenentur
Liternum. OVID. METAM. XV. 713.
. . . . . undosis squalida terris
Hinc Literna palus. SIL. ITAL. VII. 277.

And Liv. XXII. 16. Liternum became a Roman colony in the same year with Vulturnum. (Liv. XXXIV. 45.) It was recolonized under Augustus, (Front. de Col.) and ranked among the præfecturæ. (Fest.)

That Scipio retired here in disgust at the injustice of his countrymen seems a fact too well attested to be called in question; but whether he really closed his existence there, as far as we can collect from Livy's account, may be deemed uncertain: his tomb

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and statue were to be seen both at Liternum and in the family vault of the Scipios, which was discovered some years ago outside the Porta Capena. (Liv. XXXVIII. 51.) Strabo certainly seems to imply that he spent the remainder of his life at Liternum, and also makes mention of his tomb there. (V. 243.) According to Valerius Maximus, Scipio himself had caused to be engraved on it this inscription,

INGRATA . PATRIA . NE . OSSA . QUIDEM . MEA . HABES,

which would be decisive of the question. (V. 3.) It is not improbable that the little hamlet of *Patria*, which is supposed to stand on the site of Scipio's villa, is indebted for its name to this circumstance. Seneca gives an interesting description of a visit he made to the remains of the villa, and of the reflections to which it gave rise, in a letter to one of his friends. (Ep. 86.) Pliny asserts, that there were to be seen in his day, near Liternum, some olive-trees and myrtles, said to have been planted by the illustrious exile. (Plin. XVI. 44.) In this vicinity was the Silva Gallinaria, which furnished the fleet with which Sextus Pompey afterwards infested the Mediterranean. (Strab. V. 243.) Juvenal mentions the spot as a noted haunt of robbers and assassins.

Gallinaria Silva.

> Interdum et ferro subitus grassator agit rem,
> Armato quoties tutæ custode tenentur
> Et Pomptina palus, et Gallinaria pinus.
>
> SAT. III. 305.

Cicero leads us to suppose that this wood lay on the road from Sinuessa to Naples. (ad Fam. IX. Ep. 23.) It is now called *Pineta di Castel Volturno*[o].

[o] Pratilli della Via Appia, l. ii. c. 7. p. 183.

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Cumæ. A few miles further was the ancient Cumæ, placed on a rocky hill washed by the sea; and the same name is still attached to the ruins which lie scattered around its base. Whatever doubt may have been thrown on the pretensions of many other Italian towns to a Greek origin, those of Cumæ seem to stand on grounds too firm and indisputable to be called in question. It is agreed upon by all ancient writers who have adverted to this city, that it was founded at a very early period by some Greeks of Eubœa, under the conduct of Hippocles of Cumæ, and Megasthenes of Chalcis. (Strab. V. 243.) Thucydides terms it a Chalcidic city, in the land of the Opici; so also Livy VIII. 22. (Cf. Dion. Hal. VII. Hyper. Cum. ap. Pausan. X. 12. Plin. III. 5. Vell. Paterc. I. 4.)

Scymnus of Chios, in his Periplus, says it was founded by the Chalcidians, after which some Æolians of Cumæ, in Asia Minor, came and settled there. It is true that Stephanus of Byzantium is the only author who has mentioned a Cumæ in Eubœa; but the admission of the existence of such a town would remove many difficulties with regard to the foundation of the Italian Cumæ[p]. The Latin poets, with Virgil at their head, all distinguish Cumæ by the title of the Euboic city.

Et tandem Euboicis Cumarum allabitur oris.
ÆN. VI. 2.

Talia convexum per iter memorante Sibylla,
Sedibus Euboicam Stygiis emergit in urbem
Troius Æneas. OVID. METAM. XIV. 154.

. . . . . solusque quietem
Euboici vasta lateris convalle tenebis.
LUCAN. V. 195.

[p] See the notes to the French Strabo, t. ii. p. 252.

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Euboicæ nondum numerabas longa Sibyllæ
Tempora. MART. IX. EP. 30.

Gaudens Euboicæ domum Sibyllæ,
Gauranosque sinus, et æstuantes
Septem montibus admovere Baias.
STAT. SILV. IV. 3.

Visu fallimur? an sacris ab antris
Profert Chalcidicas Sibylla laurus?
ID. EOD. CARM.

The period at which Cumæ was founded is stated in the Chronology of Eusebius to have been about 1050 A. C. that is, a few years before the great migration of the Ionians into Asia Minor[q]. We have also the authority of Strabo for considering it as the most ancient of all the Grecian colonies both of Italy and Sicily[r]. (V. 243.) The same author adds, that from its commencement the state of the colony was most flourishing. The fertility of the surrounding country, and the excellent harbours which the coast afforded, soon rendered it one of the most powerful cities of southern Italy, and enabled it to form settlements along the coast, and to send out colonies as far as Sicily; but these will be noticed in their proper place.

Before the Etruscans extended their dominion to the south, Cumæ had no enemy to encounter; but that powerful nation meditating, as it should seem, the entire subjugation of Italy, began to view with jealousy the prosperity and aggrandizement of this maritime town; and the more so as from being pressed

[q] See Scaliger in Euseb. Chron. and Prideaux, Not. ad Marmor. Oxon. p. 146.

[r] The colonization of Cumæ at this early period is a remarkable event, as shewing the progress already made by the Greeks in the art of navigation, and proving also that they were then well acquainted with Italy.

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and threatened on the side of the Alps by the Gauls, they naturally sought to strengthen and extend themselves to the south. Having therefore raised among their dependants a numerous army, as we learn from Dionysius, (VII.) of Umbri, Daunii, and other barbarians, they advanced against Cumæ, in the 64th Olympiad, or the 228th year of the foundation of Rome, and the 9th year of the reign of Tarquinius Superbus, and encamped before that city. Such was the conduct, however, and good fortune of the Cumæans, that they successfully resisted all their attacks, and finally, by defeating this multitude, forced them to raise the siege. About twenty years after, they had another opportunity of meeting their enemies the Etruscans in the field. Aricia being threatened by a division of the army of Porsenna, then retiring from Rome, sought the aid of Cumæ; and Aristodemus, who had greatly signalized himself in the preceding war, was sent with a chosen force to the aid of the Latins. He had the good fortune to defeat the enemy, and to slay their general, Aruns, the son of Porsenna. This brilliant success awakened the ambition of the Cumæan leader, who could not resist the prospect thus opened to his view: he determined to overthrow the government of his country, which was at that time aristocratical, similar to that of Chalcis, the mother city, and to place himself at its head. The army which he commanded enabled him but too well to carry his design into execution; and for fifteen years he continued the pest and scourge of his country, thenceforth becoming as distinguished for his cruelty and tyranny as he had formerly been for his bravery and patriotism. His vices obtained him the

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surname of Μαλακός. At length oppression roused the Cumæans to resistance, and a party of exiles having secretly obtained admission into the city, surprised him in his palace, and slew him with all his family. Not long before this event, Cumæ had witnessed the death of another tyrant, the exiled Tarquin, A. U. C. 259, who had retired thither after many fruitless attempts to recover his lost dominions. (Liv. II. 21.) The Roman historian here quoted, mentions that Aristodemus, as Tarquin's heir, detained seven Roman vessels, which were sent to Cumæ to purchase corn during a time of scarcity. (II. 34.) All that relates to Aristodemus is stated at length in Dionysius, VII. 7. (Cf. Diod. Sic. Frag. VII. Suid. Ἀριστόδημος.)

The Cumæans had scarce freed themselves from the heavy yoke of their oppressor, when they were threatened with another formidable attack on the part of the Tuscans, who doubtless thought that, weakened by civil dissensions, they would scarce be able to make head against them. Had Cumæ been left to its own resources, it must have yielded to the powerful armament that was now brought against it. But it found in Hiero, king of Syracuse, and one of the most powerful princes of his time, a generous and ready ally; the Sicilian fleet, having joined the galleys of Cumæ, encountered the Tuscan ships near that city, and after an obstinate engagement, gained a most complete victory; which humbled the pride of Etruria, and greatly weakened her maritime power. It is of this victory that Pindar says,

> Λίσσομαι, νεῦσον, Κρονίων, ἄμερον
> Ὄφρα κατ' οἶκον ὁ Φοί-
>
> I. 4

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νιξ, ὁ Τυρσανῶν τ' ἀλαλατὸς ἔχῃ,
Ναυσίστοναν ὕβριν ἰδὼν,
Τὰν πρὸ Κύμας·
Οἷα Συρακοσίων ἀρ-
χῷ δαμασθέντες πάθον.
Ὠκυπόρων ἀπὸ ναῶν
Ὅς σφιν ἐν πόντῳ βάλεθ' ἁλικίαν,
Ἑλλάδ' ἐξέλκων βαρείας
Δουλίας. PYTH. I. 137.

(Cf. Diod. Sic. XI.) This event seems to have secured to the Cumæans a state of peace and tranquillity for many years, during which time, however, a love of ease and luxury was created, which, at a later period, rendered them incapable of resisting the attacks of their more enterprising neighbours, the Samnites, who had already made themselves masters of Capua. Cumæ at length fell into their hands also, A. U. C. 336, and experienced every sort of insult and contumely from the victorious enemy. (Strab. V. 243. Liv. IV. 44. Diod. Sic. XII. Dion. Hal. Excerpt. Legat.) From this time it dwindled into a state of comparative insignificance, though it still retained several traces of its Grecian origin[s]. (Strab. loc. cit.) When Campania placed itself under the protection of Rome, Cumæ followed the example of that province, and obtained soon after the privileges of a municipal city. (Liv. VIII. 14. and XXIII. 31.) In the second Punic war it was attacked by Hannibal, but by the exertions of Tib. Sempronius Gracchus it was vigorously and successfully defended. (Liv. XXIII. 37.)

[s] Livy mentions that the Cumæans demanded of the Roman senate to be allowed to use the Latin language in sales and other public transactions. (XL. 42.)

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Tandem ad vicinos Cumarum vertere portus
Defessos subigit.—
Sed custos urbi Gracchus, tutela vel ipsis
Certior, arcebat, muris.— SIL. ITAL. XII. 6.

This city became a Roman colony under the reign of Augustus, (Front. de Col.) but owing to the superior attractions of Baiæ and Neapolis, it did not attain to any degree of prosperity, and in Juvenal's time it appears to have been nearly deserted.

Quamvis digressu veteris confusus amici,
Laudo tamen vacuis quod sedem figere Cumis
Destinet, atque unum civem donare Sibyllæ.
SAT. III. 1.

But Cumæ was perhaps still more indebted for its celebrity to the oracular sibyl, who, from the earliest ages, was supposed to have made her abode in the Cumæan cave, from whence she delivered her prophetic lore. Every one is acquainted with the splendid fictions of Virgil relative to this sibyl, but it is not so generally known that the noble fabric of the poet was raised on a real foundation. The temple of Apollo, or, as it was more commonly called, the cavern of the sibyl, actually existed; it consisted of one vast chamber, hewn out of the solid rock;

Excisum Euboicæ latus ingens rupis in antrum:
Quo lati ducunt aditus centum, ostia centum,
Unde ruunt totidem voces, responsa Sibyllæ.
ÆN. VI. 42.

but was almost entirely destroyed in a siege which the fortress of Cumæ, then in the possession of the Goths, maintained against Narses; that general, by undermining the cavern, caused the citadel to sink

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into the hollow, and thus involved the whole in one common ruin. (Agath. Hist. Goth. I.) There is also a description of this cave in Justin Martyr. (Orat. Paræn. Procop. Bell. Got. I.)

Misenum prom.

Beyond Cumæ is the promontory of Misenum, now *Capo Miseno*, so named, according to Virgil, from Misenus, one of the followers of Æneas, whom that hero interred there.

> Monte sub aërio: qui nunc Misenus ab illo
> Dicitur, æternumque tenet per secula nomen.
> ÆN. VI. 234.
>
> Qua jacet et Trojæ tubicen Misenus arena.
> PROPERT. III. ELEG. 18.
>
> Necnon Misenum, servantem Idæa sepulchro
> Nomina. SIL. ITAL.
>
> Et Lucrina Venus, Phrygioque e vertice Graias
> Addiscis, Misene, tubas. STAT. SILV. III. 1.
>
> Enthea fatidicæ seu visere tecta Sibyllæ
> Dulce sit, Iliacoque jugum memorabile remo.
> ID. III. 5.

(Mel. II. 4. Dion. Hal. I.) Other accounts speak of Misenus as a companion of Ulysses. (Strab. V. 245.)

The earliest writer who mentions it is Lycophron.

> . . . . . οἳ παρ' ἄκλυστον σκέπας
> Ὅρμων Μισηνοῦ στύφλα νάσσονται κλίτη. v. 737.

Misenum portus.

Misenum was probably first used by the Cumæans as a harbour. (Dion. Hal. VII. 5.) In the reign of Augustus it became one of the first naval stations of the Roman empire, being destined to guard the coast of the Tuscan sea. (Suet. Aug. 48. Tacit. Annal. IV. 5. Hist. II. 9. Dio. Cass. LXXIII. Flor. I. 10.) In process of time a town grew up round

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the harbour, the inhabitants of which were called Misenenses, or Misenates. (Veget. V. 1.) The neighbourhood of this place abounded with marine villas, among which may be mentioned that of C. Marius, too luxurious, as Plutarch observes, for such a soldier. (Plut. in Mar. Plin. XVIII. 6.) It was purchased afterwards by Lucullus for 500,200 denarii. According to Seneca it stood on the brow of the hill overlooking the sea. (Ep. 51.) Some years after, it came into the possession of Tiberius, as we learn from Phædrus, who has made it the scene of one of his fables. (II. Fab. 36.) Misenum oppidum.

> Cæsar Tiberius quum petens Neapolim
> In Misenensem villam venisset suam,
> Quæ monte summo posita Luculli manu,
> Prospectat Siculum et prospicit Tuscum mare.

It was here that emperor died. (Suet. Tib. 74. Dio. Cass. LVIII.) Cicero's Cumæan villa, of which mention is occasionally made in his correspondence with Atticus, was probably in this vicinity. (ad Att. X. 4. and XIV. 18.) From other letters it appears that M. Antony likewise resided sometimes at Misenum. (ad Att. X. 7. and XIV. 23.)

Pliny the elder was stationed here as commander of the fleet, at the time of the great eruption of Vesuvius, in which he perished. His nephew, the younger Pliny, prudently resolved not to quit the place, and was thus enabled to write that admirable account of this calamitous event, which has been preserved to us in his letter to Tacitus. (VI. Ep. 16.) Between Misenum and Cumæ is a marsh or salt lake called *Lago di Fusaro*, which in Strabo's opinion at least was thought to represent the Acherusia Palus. Acherusia Palus.

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(V. 243. Cf. Plin. III. 5.) It is described by Lycophron in his usual hyperbolical style.

. . . . . Ἀχερουσίαν
Ῥόχθοισι κυμαίνουσαν οἴδματος χύσιν. ALEX. 695.

The villa of Servilius Vatra, which Seneca mentions, (Ep. 55.) stood on the shores of this lake.

Bauli. On the other side of Misenum, and more inland, was Bauli, which, according to tradition, was originally called Boaulia, from the circumstance of Hercules having landed there with the oxen of Geryon, on his return from Spain. (Symmach. I. Ep. 1. Serv. ad Æn. VI. and Silius Ital.)

. . . . . Herculeos videt ipso in litore Baulos.
XII. 156.

The situation of Bauli, on a hill commanding an extensive view of the sea, rendered it one of the most attractive spots on this coast. We hear in this place of a villa and some remarkable fish-ponds, the property of Hortensius the orator. (Plin. IX. 55. Varr. Rer. Rust. III. 17. Cic. Acad. II. 3.) It was in his villa at Bauli that the monster Nero received his mother Agrippina, where, after having already escaped from one of his attempts against her life, she fell into the toils which he had spread for her destruction. (Suet. Neron. c. 34. Tacit. Ann. XIV. 4. and 5.) Tacitus especially describes the catastrophe in that bold and nervous style so peculiar to himself. (Dio. Cass. LXI.) and Martial.

Dum petit a Baulis mater Cærelia Baias,
Occidit insani crimine mersa freti.
Gloria quanta perit vobis! hæc monstra Neroni,
Nec quondam jussæ præstiteratis aquæ.
IV. EP. 63.

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Baiæ follows next on the coast; the poets have de- Baiæ.
rived the name of this celebrated spot from Baius a companion of Ulysses.

> . . . . . illic, quos sulfure pingues
> Phlegræi legere sinus, Misenus, et ardens
> Orè gigantêo sedes Ithacesia Baii.
> SIL. ITAL. VIII. 539.
>
> . . . . . docet ille, tepentes
> Unde ferant nomen Baiæ, comitemque dedisse
> Dulichiæ puppis stagno sua nomina monstrat.
> ID. XII. 113.

Baiæ was a most favourite place of resort with the rich and luxurious Romans, but we are not informed at what period it became so. Lucullus, however, appears to have first brought it into notice. Horace probably alludes to his extravagant undertakings here, when he says,

> Tu secanda marmora
> Locas sub ipsum funus; et sepulchri
> Immemor, struis domos;
> Marisque Baiis obstrepentis urges
> Summovere littora,
> Parum locuples continente ripa. II. OD. 18.
>
> Nullus in orbe sinus Baiis prælucet amœnis,
> Si dixit dives; lacus et mare sentit amorem
> Festinantis heri. — I. EPIST. 1. 83.

(Cf. Varr. Rer. Rust. III. 17.) Seneca mentions that Julius Cæsar and Pompey likewise possessed villas here. (Ep. 51.) Baiæ does not seem to have lost any of its attractions in later times, if we are to believe the encomiums bestowed on it by Martial.

> Litus beatæ Veneris aureum Baias,
> Baias superbæ blanda dona naturæ,

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Ut mille laudem, Flacce, versibus Baias,
Laudabo digne non satis tamen Baias.

XI. Ep. 81.

From this passage we may infer that Venus was the tutelary deity of the place. This fact is also confirmed by the following fragment, said to be ancient [1].

Ante bonam Venerem gelidæ per litora Baiæ,
Illa natare lacu cum lampade jussit amorem;
Dum natat, algentes cecidit scintilla per undas,
Hinc vapor ussit aquas, quicunque natavit amavit.

But Baiæ owed its celebrity, not only to the beauty of its shores and the advantages of its climate, but also to the numerous warm springs which burst forth at almost every step, and were considered to possess salutary properties for various disorders. (Flor. I. 16. Plin. XXXI. 2. Senec. Ep. 51. Joseph. Ant. Jud. XVIII. 14. Cassiod. IX. Ep. 6. Corn. Cels. II. 17.) Nor are they less celebrated by the poets.

Qualis apud Cumas locus est montemque Vesevum,
Oppleti calidis ubi fumant fontibus auctus.

Lucr. VI. 747.

Quid referam Baias, prætextaque litora velis,
Et, quæ de calido sulfure fumat, aquam?

Ovid. Art. Am. I.

. . . . . nam mihi Baias
Musa supervacuas Antonius: et tamen illis
Me facit invisum, gelida cum perluor unda
Per medium frigus. Sane myrteta relinqui,
Dictaque cessantem nervis elidere morbum
Sulfura contemni, vicus gemit. —

Hor. I. Epist. 15.

[1] The author's name is Regianus. See Cat. Pith. l. ii.

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Vos quoque cæruleum divæ Nereides agmen,
Surgite de vitreis spumosæ Doridos antris;
Baianosque sinus, et fœta tepentibus undis
Litora, tranquillo certatim ambite natatu.
STAT. SILV. III. 2.

Sive vaporiferas, blandissima litora, Baias,
Enthea fatidicæ seu visere tecta Sibyllæ
Dulce sit. — ID. III. 5.

Close to Baiæ was the Lucrine lake, or rather a part of the sea which had been shut in by a dike raised across the narrow inlet. This work, according to Strabo, was eight stadia in length, and of a chariot's breadth; tradition ascribed it to Hercules. (V. 245. Cf. Diod. Sic. IV.) Lucrinus Lacus.

Qua jacet et Trojæ tubicen Misenus arena,
Et sonat Herculeo structa labore via.
PROPERT. III. ELEG. 18.

Ast hic Lucrino mansisse vocabula quondam
Cocyti memorat, medioque in gurgite ponti
Herculeum commendat iter, qua discidit æquor
Amphitryoniades, armenti rector Iberi.
SIL. ITAL. XII. 116.

The same allusion is also made by Lycophron, but on what foundation it rests, it seems useless to inquire. It is well known that at present this lake has almost entirely disappeared, owing to a subterraneous eruption which took place in 1538, whereby the hill called *Monte Nuovo* was raised, and the water displaced. The works undertaken here by Agrippa will be noticed presently under the head of Lacus Avernus. I shall therefore now conclude the subject of the Lucrine lake, by noticing its celebrity for oysters and other shellfish.

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Non me Lucrina juverint conchylia.
HOR. EPOD. II. 49.

Sed non omne mare est generosæ fertile testæ;
Murice Baiano melior Lucrina peloris.
ID. SAT. II. 4.

. . . . . Inque Lucrinis
Eruata litoribus vendunt conchylia cœnas.
PETR. SAT.

. . . . . Circæis nata forent, an
Lucrinum ad saxum, Rutupinove edita fundo
Ostrea, callebat primo deprendere morsu.
JUV. SAT. IV. 140.

Avernus Lacus.

The Lacus Avernus, now *Lago d'Averno*, was connected with the former basin by a narrow passage. It is described accurately by Strabo as being surrounded on almost every side, except this outlet, by steep hills; its depth was reported to be unfathomable. (V. 248. Cf. Arist. de Mirab. Diod. Sic. IV.) Lycophron describes it as

Λίμνην τ' Ἄορνον ἀμφιτορνατὴν βρόχῳ. v. 704.

The story of birds becoming stupified by its exhalations, whence it is said to have obtained its name, is well known from Virgil;

Spelunca alta fuit, vastoque immanis hiatu,
Scrupea, tuta lacu nigro nemorumque tenebris;
Quam super haud ullæ poterant impune volantes
Tendere iter pennis; talis sese halitus atris
Faucibus effundens supera ad convexa ferebat;
Unde locum Graii dixerunt nomine Avernum.
ÆN. VI. 237.

(Cf. Lucr. VI. 748. Antig. Caryst. Hist. Mir. Nonn. Marcell.) but Strabo expressly states the whole story to be fabulous; nor is he of course more inclined to attach credit to the accounts which placed here the

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scene of Ulysses's descent to the infernal regions, and his evocations of the dead, as described in the Odyssey, together with the subterraneous abodes of the Cimmerians. (Strab. V. 244.) These Cimmerians are mentioned by many authors, it is true, and doubtless there have existed nations who lived in caves and similar primitive abodes; but it is to be observed, that Homer does not represent these people as dwelling in holes under ground, but as being deprived of the light of the sun, and enveloped in mist and clouds:

Ἔνθα δὲ Κιμμερίων ἀνδρῶν δῆμός τε, πόλις τε,
Ἠέρι καὶ νεφέλῃ κεκαλυμμένοι· οὐδέ ποτ' αὐτοὺς
Ἠέλιος φαέθων ἐπιδέρκεται ἀκτίνεσσιν, Odyss. Λ. 14.

so that most probably the account of these subterraneous people is of later invention. The authors who may be referred to on this subject are Ephorus, quoted by Strab. V. 244. Lycophr. v. 625. Plin. III. 5. Fest. v. Cimmerii. Max. Tyr. Dissert. 26. Silius Italicus has followed Homer very closely.

At juxta caligantes, longumque per ævum
Infernis pressas nebulis, pallente sub umbra
Cimmerias jacuisse domos, noctemque profundam
Tartareæ narrant urbis. — XII. 130.

The groves and forests which covered the hills around Avernus were dedicated, it seems, to Hecate, and sacrifices were frequently offered to that goddess; we read in Livy of Hannibal's advancing towards the lake, under the pretence of performing such religious rites, but the historian states that his real purpose was to make an attempt on Puteoli. (XXIV. 12.) These groves and shades disappeared when M. Agrippa converted the lake into a harbour, by opening a communication with the sea and the Lucrine basin.

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Portus Julius.

This harbour, which was called Portus Julius, in honour of Augustus, served for exercising the galleys, and it is to this practice that he is said to have been indebted for his victory over Sextus Pompeius. (Suet. Aug. 16. Vell. Paterc. II. 79. Dio. Cass. XLVIII.) The passages in which Virgil and Horace introduce the mention of this great work will readily be remembered.

> An memorem portus, Lucrinoque addita claustra:
> Atque indignatum magnis stridoribus æquor,
> Julia qua ponto longe sonat unda refuso,
> Tyrrhenusque fretis immittitur æstus Avernis?
> GEORG. II. 161.

> Debemur morti nos nostraque: sive receptus
> Terra Neptunus classes aquilonibus arcet,
> Regis opus. — HOR. ART. POET. 63.

Gaurus Mons.

The ridge of mountains which bordered on the Avernus bore formerly the name of Mons Gaurus, and is now called *Monte Barbaro*.

> Ut maris Ægæi medias si celsus in undas
> Depellatur Eryx, nullæ tamen æquore rupes
> Emineant, vel si convulso vertice Gaurus
> Decidat in fundum penitus stagnantis Averni.
> LUCAN. II. 665.

> Illic Nuceria, et Gaurus navalibus acta.
> SIL. ITAL. VIII. 534.

> . . . . . sic Barchæus opimam
> Hannibal ad Capuam periit, quum fortia bello
> Inter delicias mollirent corpora Baiæ.
> Et se Lucrinas qua vergit Gaurus in undas,
> Brachia Massylus jactaret nigra natator.
> SIDON. APOLL. CARM. V.

The above mentioned lake was principally filled by the waters which flowed from this mountain. (Sid.

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Apoll. c. 18. Colum. Rer. Rust. I. 5. Heliod. ap. Stob. Serm. 98.) The Mons Gaurus is also noticed by Cicero. (Orat. pro Leg. Agr. II. Liv. VII. 32.) It is remarkable that this ridge should be ranked amongst those hills which were most celebrated for their vines, whereas it is now so desolate and barren. (Flor. I. 16. Plin. III. 5.)

At a short distance from the Lucrine lake, and on the coast, was the ancient city of Puteoli, now *Pozzuoli*. Its Greek name was Dicæarchia; but when the Romans sent a colony there, they gave it the name of Puteoli, probably from the number of its wells, or perhaps from the stench which was emitted by the sulphureous and aluminous springs in the neighbourhood. (Strab. V. 245. Varr. de Ling. Lat. IV. Plin. XXXI. 2. Fest. v. Puteoli.) Respecting the origin of this town, we learn from Strabo that it was at first the harbour of Cumæ. Hence we may fairly regard it as a colony of that city, without calling in the Samians to assist in its foundation, as Stephanus of Byzantium reports, and Hieronymus, Euseb. Chron. II. The Romans appear to have first directed their attention to this spot in the second Punic war, when Fabius the consul was ordered to fortify and garrison the town, which had only been frequented hitherto for commercial purposes. (Liv. XXIV. 7.) In the following year it was attacked by Hannibal without success; (Liv. XXIV. 13.) and about this time became a naval station of considerable importance; armies were sent to Spain from thence; (Liv. XXVI. 17.) and the embassy from Carthage, which was sent to sue for peace at the close of the second Punic war, disembarked here, and proceeded to Rome by land, (Liv.

Dicæarchia postea Puteoli.

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XXX. 22.) as did St. Paul about 250 years afterwards. The apostle remained seven days at Puteoli before he set forward on his journey by the Appian way. (Act. Apost. XXVIII. 13.) In the time of Strabo, this city seems to have been a place of very great commerce, and particularly connected with Alexandria; the imports from that city, which was then the emporium of the east, being much greater than the exports of Italy. (Strab. XVII. 793. Suet. Aug. 98. Senec. Ep. 77.) The harbour of Puteoli was spacious, and of a peculiar construction, being formed of vast piles of mortar and sand, which, owing to the strongly cementing properties of the latter material, became very solid and compact masses; and these being sunk in the sea, afforded secure anchorage for any number of vessels. (Strab. V. 245.) Virgil probably alludes to the sinking of the piles here mentioned, when he says,

> Qualis in Euboico Baiarum littore quondam
> Saxea pila cadit, magnis quam molibus ante
> Constructam ponto jaciunt. — Æn. IX. 710.

Pliny also has remarked this quality of the sand in the neighbourhood of Puteoli, which now goes by the name of *Pozzolana*. (XXXV. 13.) The same writer informs us, that this harbour possessed also the advantage of a conspicuous light-house. (XXVI. 12.)

The remains which are yet to be seen in the harbour of Puteoli are commonly, but erroneously, considered to be the ruins of Caligula's bridge; whereas that emperor is said expressly to have used boats, anchored in a double line, for the construction of the bridge which he threw over from Puteoli to Baiæ;

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these were covered with earth after the manner of Xerxes' famous bridge across the Hellespont. Upon the completion of the work, Caligula is described as appearing there in great pomp, on horseback or in a chariot, for two days, followed by the prætorian bands and a splendid retinue. It is evident, therefore, that this structure was designed for a temporary purpose, and it is further mentioned that it was begun from the piles of Puteoli. (Suet. Calig. 19. Dio. Cass. LIX. Joseph. Antiq. Jud. XIX. 1.) That town became a Roman colony A. U. C. 558, (Liv. XXXIV. 45. Val. Max. IX. 3. Vell. Paterc. I. 15.) was recolonized by Augustus, (Front. de Col.) and again, for the third time, by Nero. (Tacit. Annal. XIV. 27.) From Cicero we collect that it was a municipium; (Orat. pro Cæl.) and Festus names it among the præfecturæ.

Puteoli appears to have espoused the cause of Vespasian with great zeal, from which circumstance, according to an inscription, it obtained the title of Colonia Flavia. (Tacit. Hist. III.) The same memorial informs us that Antoninus Pius caused the harbour of Puteoli to be repaired.

We must not omit to notice the villa of Cicero, to which he gave the name of Academia, and where he doubtless composed the dissertations which bear that title. It was situated between the Lucrine lake and Puteoli, and was close to the shore. Pliny, when describing the situation of this villa, says, that soon after the death of Cicero, a warm spring burst forth in those grounds, which was discovered to possess medicinal properties for disorders of the eyes. He further quotes an epigram composed in honour of this spring by a freedman of Cicero, and addressed

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to Antistius Vetus, to whom the estate had devolved. Pliny bestows greater commendation upon these lines than the reader may perhaps think they deserve. (XXXI. 2.)

Quo tua, Romanæ vindex clarissime linguæ,
Silva loco melius surgere jussa viret:
Atque Academiæ celebratam nomine villam
Nunc reparat cultu sub potiore Vetus:
Hic etiam apparent lymphæ non ante repertæ,
Languida quæ infuso lumina rore levant.
Nimirum locus ipse sui Ciceronis honori
Hoc dedit, hac fontes quum patefecit ope:
Ut, quoniam totum legitur sine fine per orbem,
Sint plures, oculis quæ medeantur, aquæ.

Cicero himself mentions his villa under the name of Academia; (ad Att. I. Ep. 3.) but he more generally terms it his Puteolanum. (ad Att. XIV. Ep. 7.) I may here observe, that the lake of *Agnano* is supposed by some to owe its origin to the vast fish-ponds which Lucullus, whose villa stood in the immediate vicinity, caused to be made here. (Plin. IX. 54. Varr. R. Rust. III. 17.)

Forum Vulcani.

Above Puteoli was a place called the Forum of Vulcan, from the number of holes upon its surface, all emitting smoke and a sulphureous stench; the hills by which it was encircled seemed likewise to be on fire. (Strab. V. 245.) It is evident from this description that the spot alluded to must answer to the present *Solfatara*, about a mile above *Pozzuoli*. This, with another place somewhat further on, called *Astrani*, similar in situation and character, are certainly alluded to by Petronius Arbiter.

Est locus, exciso penitus demersus hiatu,
Parthenopen inter magnæque Dicarchidos arva,

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Cocyta perfusus aqua: nam spiritus extra
Qui furit, effusus funesto spargitur æstu.
Non hæc autumno tellus viret, aut alit herbas
Cespite lætus ager; non verno persona cantu
Mollia discordi strepitu virgulta loquuntur:
Sed chaos, et nigro squalentia pumice saxa
Gaudent ferali circum tumulata cupressu.
Has inter sedes Ditis pater extulit ora,
Bustorum flammis, et cana sparsa favilla.

CARM. DE BELL. CIV.

These might literally be termed the Phlægrean plains, which were the subject of so many fables, (Polyb. III. 91. Strab. V. 245. Plin. III. 5.) and which are poetically described by Silius Italicus.

. . . . . tum sulphure et igni
Semper anhelantes coctoque bitumine campos
Ostentant. Tellus, atro exundante vapore
Suspirans, ustisque diu calefacta medullis,
Æstuat, et Stygios exhalat in aëra flatus.
Parturit, et tremulis metuendum exsibilat antris.
Interdumque cavas luctatus rumpere sedes,
Aut exire fretis, sonitu lugubre minaci
Mulciber immugit, laceratque viscera terræ
Mandit, et exesos labefactat murmure montes.

XII. 133.

Another appellation sometimes applied to this part of Campania was that of the Leborini Campi; but Pliny gives us to understand that this name was confined to the district which lies between Cumæ and Puteoli. The origin of the term is not apparent, but there is great reason for supposing that the term *Terra di Lavoro*, which in modern geography is usually employed to designate this part of

Leborini Campi.

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the king of Naples' dominions, has been derived from it.

Parthenope sive Neapolis.

We are now arrived at Neapolis, in Italian *Napoli*, and with us *Naples*. Innumerable accounts exist relative to the foundation of this celebrated city; but the fiction most prevalent seems to be that which attributed it to the siren Parthenope, who was cast upon its shores, and from whom it derived the name by which it is usually designated in the poets of antiquity. According to Strabo, the tomb of this pretended foundress was shewn there in his time. (V. 246.)

Οὗ σῆμα δωμήσαντες ἔγχωροι κόρης
Λοιβαῖσι καὶ θύσθλοισι Παρθενόπην βοῶν
Ἔτεια κυδαινοῦσιν οἰωνὸν θεάν. LYCOPH. ALEX. 717.

Τῇ δ' ἔπι Καμπανῶν λιπαρὸν πέδον· ἦχε μέλαθρον
Ἀγῆς Παρθενόπης σταχύων βεβριθὸς ἀμιλλαῖς·
Παρθενόπης, ἣν πόντος ἑοῖς ὑπέδεξατο κόλποις.
DIONYS. PERIEG. 357.

Sirenum dedit una suum memorabile nomen
Parthenope muris Acheloïas: æquore cujus
Regnavere diu cantus, quum dulce per undas
Exitium miseris caneret non prospera nautis.
SIL. ITAL. XII. 33.

(Cf. Plin. III. 5. Steph. Byz. v. Παρθενόπη.) Hercules is also mentioned as founder of Neapolis by Oppian and Diodorus Siculus. (ap. Tzet. ad Lycophr. loc. cit.)

We find also considerable variations in what may be regarded as the historical account of the origin of Neapolis. Scymnus of Chios mentions both the Phocæans and Cumæans as its founders, while Stephanus of Byzantium names the Rhodians. But

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by far the most numerous and most respectable authorities attribute its foundation to the Cumæans; a circumstance which their proximity renders highly probable. (Strab. V. 246. Liv. VIII. 22. Vell. Paterc. I. 4.) Hence the connexion of this city with Eubœa, so frequently alluded to by the poets, and especially by Statius, who was born here.

> At te nascentem gremio mea prima recepit
> Parthenope, dulcisque solo tu gloria nostro
> Reptasti: nitidum consurgat ad æthera tellus
> Eubois, et pulchra tumeat Sebethos alumna.
>
> SILV. I. 2.
>
> Anne quod Euboicos fessus remeare penates
> Auguror, et patria senium componere terra.
>
> SILV. III. 5.
>
> Omnia Chalcidicas turres obversa salutant.
>
> SILV. II. 2.

A Greek inscription mentions a hero of the name of Eumelus as having had divine honours paid to him, probably as founder of the city[u]. This fact serves to illustrate another passage of Statius.

> Di patrii, quos auguriis super æquora magnis
> Littus ad Ausonium devexit Abantia classis,
> Tu ductor populi longe emigrantis Apollo,
> Cujus adhuc volucrem leva cervice sedentem
> Respiciens blande felix Eumelis adorat.
>
> SILV. IV. 8, 45.

The date of the foundation of this colony is not recorded Velleius Paterculus observes only that it was much posterior to that of the parent city. Strabo seems to recognise another colony subsequent to that of the Cumæans, composed of Chalcidians, Pi-

[u] Capaccio, Hist. Nap. p. 105. Martorelli de' Fenici primi abitatori di Napoli.

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thecusans, and Athenians. (V. 246.) The latter were probably the same who are mentioned in a fragment of Timæus, quoted by Tzetzes, (ad Lycophr. v. 732—37.) as having migrated to Italy under the command of Diotimus, who also instituted the λαμπαδηφορία, still observed at Neapolis in the time of Statius.

> Tuque Actæa Ceres, cursu cui semper anhelo
> Votivam taciti quassamus lampada mystæ.
>
> SILV. IV. 8, 50.

The passage of Strabo above cited will account also for the important change in the condition of the city now under consideration, which is marked by the terms Palæpolis and Neapolis, both of which are applied to it by ancient writers. It is to be noticed that Palæpolis is the name under which Livy mentions it when describing the first transactions which connect its history with that of Rome A. U. C. 429. (Liv. VIII. 23.) while Polybius, speaking of events which occurred in the beginning of the first Punic war, that is, about sixty years afterwards, employs only that of Neapolis. (I. 51.)

Palæpolis.

Livy, however, clearly alludes to the two cities as existing at the same time; but we hear no more of Palæpolis after it had undergone a siege, and surrendered to the Roman arms. According to the same historian, this town stood at no great distance from the site of Neapolis, certainly nearer to Vesuvius, and in the plain[x]. It was betrayed by two of its chief citizens to the Roman consul A. U. C. 429. (Liv. VIII. 25.) Respecting the position of Neapolis, it may be seen from Pliny, that it was placed

[x] Romanelli, t. iii. p. 530.

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between the river Sebethus, now *il Fiume Madda-lona*, and the small island Megaris, or Megalia, as Statius calls it, Sebethus fl. Megaris insula.

Quæque ferit curvos exerta Megalia fluctus.
SILV. II. 2. 80.

on which the *Castel del Ovo* now stands. (Plin. III. 6. and Columella, R. Rust. X.)

Doctaque Parthenope Sebethide roscida lympha.

It is probable that Neapolis sought the alliance of the Romans not long after the fall of the neighbouring city; for we find that they were supplied with ships by that town in the first Punic war, for the purpose of crossing over into Sicily. (Pol. I. 51.) At that time we may suppose the inhabitants of Neapolis, like those of Cumæ, to have lost much of their Greek character from being compelled to admit the Campanians into their commonwealth; a circumstance which has been noticed by Strabo. (V. 246.) In that geographer's time, however, there still remained abundant traces of their first origin. Their gymnasia, clubs, and societies were formed after the Greek manner. Public games were celebrated every five years, which might rival in celebrity the most famous institutions of that nature established in Greece[y]; while the indolence and luxury of Grecian manners were also very prevalent, and allured to Neapolis many a Roman whose age and temperament inclined them to a life of ease. (Strab. V. 246.)

. . . . . in otia natam
Parthenopen. OVID. METAM. XV. 711.

[y] See Ignarra de Phratriis Neapolitanis item de Palæstrâ Neapolitanâ.

Et otiosa credidit Neapolis. Hor. Epod. V. 54. 3.

Nunc molles urbi ritus, atque hospita Musis
Otia, exemptum curis gravioribus ævum.
Sil. Ital. XII. 31.

Pax secura locis, et desidis otia vitæ,
Et nunquam turbata quies, somnique peracti.
Nulla foro rabies, aut strictæ jurgia legis.
Stat. Silv. III. 5. 85.

(Cf. Cic. Orat. pro L. Corn. Balbo. Philostrat. Icon. I.) Claudius and Nero seem to have shewn a like predilection for Neapolis as a residence. (Dio. Cass. LX. Tacit. Ann. XV. 53. and XVI. 10.) The epithet of *docta*, applied to this city by Martial,

Et quas docta Neapolis creavit. V. Ep. 79.

proves that literature continued to flourish here in his time.

Among other superstitions, we learn from Macrobius, (Saturn. I. 18.) that the Neapolitans worshipped the sun under the appearance of a bull with a human face, which they called Hebon. This fact is confirmed by numerous coins[z], and by a remarkable Greek inscription.

ΗΒΩΝΙ · ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΣΤΑΩΙ · ΘΕΩΙ · &c.

Among the numerous sites in the vicinity of Naples which deserve our attention from their classical interest, two more especially have a claim to notice; the grotto of *Posilypo* and the tomb of Virgil. It seems allowed that the Greek term Pausilypus was applied to the ridge of hills which separates the bay of Naples from that of *Pozzuoli*, probably on ac-

Pausilypus mons.

[z] Capaccio, Hist. Nap. p. 185. Martorelli de' Fenici primi abitatori di Napoli.

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count of its delightful situation and aspect, which rendered it the favourite residence of several noble and wealthy Romans. (Plin. VIII. 53. Dio. Cass. LIV.) This hill, at a period unknown to us, was perforated by art to admit of a communication between Neapolis and Puteoli, not only for men and beasts of burden, but also for carriages. Strabo, who notices this great undertaking, seems to ascribe it to L. Cocceius, a Roman architect of the Augustan age; (V. 24.) but it is generally supposed that the grotto in question is of much greater antiquity. It seems highly probable that we ought to refer this great undertaking to the Cumæans, the founders of both the cities above mentioned, and of whose skill in works of this nature we have a remarkable instance in the temple of their sibyl. Seneca, in describing the Crypta Neapolitana, as it was then called, gives an exaggerated and almost ludicrous account of the sombre horrors of the place. Perhaps in his time the apertures destined to admit light at certain intervals had become obstructed. This was evidently not the case when Strabo wrote. (Sen. Epist. LVII. Pet. Arbit. Sat.)

It has been questioned whether the ruin which is commonly shewn as Virgil's tomb has really any title to so great a distinction; nor is the doubt one which can satisfactorily be removed, since the authority of the monument rests solely on the voice of tradition. I quite agree, however, with a learned modern traveller[a] in thinking that Cluverius does not at all disprove the identity of the ruin now under consideration by the passage from Statius

[a] Eustace's Classical Tour, vol. ii. p. 436.

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which he has brought forward with that view. The poet says,

> . . . . . en egomet somnum, et geniale sequutus
> Litus, ubi Ausonio se condidit hospita portu
> Parthenope, tenues ignavo pollice chordas
> Pulso, Maroneique sedens in margine templi
> Sumo animum, et magni tumulis adcanto magistri.
> SILV. IV. 4. 51.

and a little beyond,

> Hæc ego Chalcidicis ad te, Marcelle, sonabam
> Litoribus, fractas ubi Vesbius egerit vias.

Every one will allow that a description conveyed in such general terms does not fix the position of Virgil's tomb in any one particular spot more than another. The mention of the shore will suit the ruin in question without claiming a poet's privilege, and *Naples* is sufficiently near Vesuvius without looking for the tomb at its foot[b], because allusion is made by Statius to that mountain. According to Eusebius, Virgil's remains were removed from Brundusium, where he died, to Neapolis, and interred at a distance of two miles from that city; while Donatus affirms that they were deposited on the Via Puteolana, between the first and second milestones. Now though the monument we are here inquiring into could not be situated on the Via Puteolana, if it traversed the grotto, it would still be sufficiently near to answer the purpose of description, and the distance agrees very well with that which the grammarian above cited has given. But if, according to the opinion of the best informed Neapolitan anti-

[b] Cluver. Ital. Ant. II. p. 1153.

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quaries, this road ascended the hill of *Posilypo*, the ruin in question would be in perfect harmony with the statement of Donatus. So that, upon the whole, authorities, such as they are, seem rather to favour the authenticity of the tradition which has attached the name of the great Latin poet to this spot.

The next town on the coast after Neapolis is Herculaneum, or, as Cicero writes it, Herculanum, (ad Att. VII. 3.) the situation of which is now no longer doubtful, since the discovery of its ruins. Cluverius was right in his correction of the Tabula Theodosiana, which reckoned twelve miles between this place and Neapolis, instead of six, though he removed it too far from *Portici* when he assigned to it the position of *Torre del Greco*. Nothing is known respecting the origin of Herculaneum, except that fabulous accounts ascribed its foundation to Hercules, on his return from Spain. (Dion. Hal. I. 44.) It may be inferred, however, from a passage in Strabo, that this town was of great antiquity[c]. At first it was only a fortress, which was successively occupied by the Osci, Tyrrheni, Pelasgi, Samnites, and lastly by the Romans. Being situated close to the sea, on elevated ground, it was exposed to the south-west wind, and from that circumstance was reckoned particularly healthy. (V. 247.) Herculaneum.

We learn from Velleius Paterculus, that Herculaneum suffered considerably during the civil wars. (Cf. Flor. I. 16.) This town is mentioned also by Mela (II. 4. Plin. III. 5.) and by Sisenna, a more ancient writer than any of the former; he is quoted

[c] It may be reasonably conjectured that Herculaneum was a Greek city, but that its name was altered to suit the Latin or Oscan pronunciation.

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by Nonius Marcellus. (de Indiscr. Gen. v. Fluvius.) Ovid likewise notices it under the name of "Urbem "Herculeam." (Metam. XV.)

It is probable that the subversion of this town was not sudden, but progressive, since Seneca mentions a partial demolition which it sustained from an earthquake. (Nat. Quæst. VI. 1.) So many books have been written on the antiquities and works of art discovered in Herculaneum, that the subject need not be enlarged upon here. I shall therefore now pass on to the mountain which occasioned the final destruction of this and the neighbouring cities. Mount Vesuvius appears to have been at first known under the name of Vesevus.

Vesuvius Mons.

Qualis apud Cumas locus est montemque Vesevum.
LUCR. VI. 747.

Talem dives arat Capua, et vicina Vesevo
Ora jugo. GEORG. II. 224.

Sic ubi prorupti tonuit quum forte Vesevi
Hesperiæ letalis apex. VAL. FLAC. ARGON. IV.

Tertia jam soboles procerum tibi nobile vulgus
Crescit, et insani solatur damna Vesevi.
STAT. SILV. IV. 8. 4.

Perque vaporiferi graditur vineta Vesevi.
AUSON. IDYLL. X.

But the appellation of Vesvius and Vesbius is no less frequently applied to it.

Evomuit pastos per secula Vesbius ignes.
SIL. ITAL. XVII. 594.

Ut magis Inarime, magis et mugitor anhelat
Vesvius. VAL. FLAC. ARGON. III. 208.

Fontibus et Stabiæ celebres et Vesvia rura.
COLUM. X.

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Hic est pampineis viridis modo Vesvius umbris.
MART. IV. Ep. 44.

Strabo describes this mountain as extremely fertile at its base, but entirely barren towards the summit, which was mostly level, and full of apertures and cracks, seemingly produced by the action of fire; whence Strabo was led to conclude that the volcano, though once in a state of activity, had been extinguished from want of fuel. (V. 24.)

Diodorus Siculus (IV.) represents it also as being in a quiescent state, since he argues from its appearance at the time he was writing, that it must have been on fire at some remote period. The volcano was likewise apparently extinct, when, as Plutarch and Florus relate, Spartacus with some of his followers sought refuge in the cavities of the mountain from the pursuit of their enemies, and succeeded in eluding their search. (Plut. vit. Crass. Flor. III. 20. Front. Strat.) It was during the reign of Titus that this volcano again burst forth with redoubled fury, and occasioned that terrible disaster which is affectingly described by the younger Pliny. (VI. Ep. 16. and 20. Cf. Xiphil.)

Hæc ego Chalcidicis ad te, Marcelle, sonabam
Littoribus, fractas ubi Vesbius egerit iras,
Æmula Trinacriis volvens incendia flammis.
Mira fides! credetne virum ventura propago,
Cum segetes iterum, cum jam hæc deserta virebunt,
Infra urbes, populosque premi? proavitaque toto
Rura abiisse mari? nec dum lethale minari
Cessat apex. STAT. SILV. IV. 4. 78.

From this time it appears to have been subject to perpetual eruptions. (Plut. de Orac. Pyth. and Cassiod. Var. Epist. IV.) Procopius gives a very good

account of the state and appearance of the crater, as he beheld it. (Bell. Got. II. and IV.)

We learn from Livy, that a great battle was fought between the Romans and Latins at the foot of Vesuvius, when the elder Decius devoted himself for his country. "Pugnatum est," says the historian, "haud procul radicibus Vesuvii montis, qua via ad "Veserim ferebat." (VIII. 9.) It may be here remarked that the term Veseris is indefinite, as it may apply to a river as well as a town. Aurel. Victor, or the author de Vir. Illustr. when speaking of this event, in the life of Manlius Torquatus, describes the battle as taking place near the river Veseris, and therefore it will be safer to adhere to his authority. Cluverius, however, considered it as a town or fortress[d]. Romanelli, with greater appearance of probability, is of opinion that it was a river, now no longer existing, and thinks some trace of its course has been discovered in the excavation of Herculaneum, under the walls of which city it formerly ran[e]. (Cf. Cic. de Off. III. 31. and de Fin. I. 7. Val. Max. VI. 4.)

Veseris fl.

At the foot of the same mountain, and probably nearer the sea than the present village of *Resina*, stood Retina, which, as we learn from Pliny, was a naval station, from whence his uncle received the first intelligence of the eruption of Vesuvius. (VI. Ep. 16.)

Retina.

Columella mentions some salt works in the neighbourhood of Herculaneum.

> Quæ dulcis Pompeia palus, vicina salinis
> Herculeis. R. Rust. X.

[d] Ital. Ant. II. p. 1187. [e] Topogr. Ant. t. iii. p. 543.

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We now come to Pompeii, or Pompeia, the first being the Latin, the second the Greek form of its name. Of this city it may truly be said, that it has become far more celebrated in modern times than it ever could have been in the most flourishing period of its existence. Tradition ascribed the origin of Pompeii, as well as that of Herculaneum, to Hercules; (Dion. Hal. I. 44.) and like that city it was in turn occupied by the Oscans, Etruscans[f], Samnites, and Romans. Pompeii.

At the instigation of the Samnites, Pompeii and Herculaneum took an active part in the Social war, but were finally reduced by Sylla. (Vell. Paterc. II. 16.) In the general peace which followed, Pompeii obtained the rights of a municipal town, and became also a military colony, at the head of which was Publius Sylla, nephew of the dictator. This officer being accused before the senate of having excited some tumult at Pompeii, was ably defended by Cicero. (Orat. pro Syll. 21.) Other colonies appear to have been subsequently sent here under Augustus and Nero[g]. In the reign of the latter, a bloody affray occurred at Pompeii during the exhibition of a fight of gladiators, between the inhabitants of that town and those of Nuceria, in which many lives were lost. The Pompeiani were in consequence deprived of these shows for ten years, and several individuals were banished. (Tacit. Ann. XIV. 17.) Shortly after, we hear of the destruction of a considerable portion of the city by an earthquake.

[f] Several inscriptions in Oscan and Etruscan characters have been discovered in the ruins of this city. Lanzi, t. iii.

[g] Romanelli Topogr. Ant. t. iii. p. 547. Romanelli Viaggio a Pompei, ed Ercolano.

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(Tacit. Ann. XV. 22. Senec. Quæst. Nat. VI. 1.) Of the more complete catastrophe which buried Pompeii under the ashes of Vesuvius, we have no positive account; but it is reasonably conjectured that it was caused by the famous eruption under the reign of Titus.

The ruins of Pompeii were accidentally discovered in 1748; consequently long after the time of Cluverius. It is curious to follow that indefatigable geographer in his search of its position, which he finally fixes at *Scafati*[h], on the banks of the *Sarno*. He would have been more correct if he had removed it about two miles from that river, and placed it nearer the base of mount Vesuvius.

As a full description of this ancient city would itself require a volume, and many excellent works on the subject are already before the public, I shall beg leave to refer the reader to their guidance[i], and proceed to describe the remainder of the Campanian coast.

Sarnus fl. The *Sarno*, anciently Sarnus, falls into the sea about a mile from Pompeii. This river, according to Strabo, formed the harbour of that town, which was also common to the inland cities of Nola, Acerræ, and Nuceria. The same writer adds, that it was navigable for the space of eighteen miles; a circumstance which will scarcely be found applicable to the present stream; whence we should be led to conclude, that a considerable change has taken place in its course. (Strab. V. 247.) The Pelasgi, who occupied this coast at an early period, are said to

[h] Cluver. Ital. Ant. II. p. 1155.

[i] Romanelli Viaggio a Pompei ed Ercolano. Gell's Topography of Pompeii, &c.

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have derived the name of Sarrastes from this river. Servius quotes Conon, an ancient Greek historian, to this effect, when commenting upon the following lines of Virgil, Sarrastes.

. . . . . patriis sed non et filius arvis
Contentus, late jam tum ditione premebat
Sarrastes populos, et quæ rigat æquora Sarnus.
ÆN. VII. 736.

which Silius has imitated.

Sarrastes etiam populos totasque videres
Sarni mitis opes. VIII. 538.

The Sarnus is also noticed by Lucan and Statius.

. . . . . Delabitur inde
Vulturnusque celer, nocturnæque editor auræ
Sarnus. LUC. II. 422.
Nec Pompeiani placeant magis otia Sarni.
SILV. II. 2.

(Cf. Plin. III. 5. Suet. de Clar. Orat. 4. Ptol. p. 66. In Procopius we find the same river mentioned under the name of Draco. (Bell. Got. IV. 2.)

About two miles beyond the *Sarno* was Stabiæ, now *Castelamare di Stabia*. It was once a place of some note, but having been destroyed by Sylla during the civil wars, its site was chiefly occupied by villas and pleasure-grounds. (Plin. III. 5.) This town is mentioned by Ovid in his description of the Campanian coast; Stabiæ.

Herculeamque urbem, Stabiasque, et in otia natam
Parthenopen. METAM. XV. 711.

and likewise by Silius Italicus.

Irrumpit Cumana ratis, quam Corbulo ductor
Lectaque complebat Stabiarum litore pubes.
XIV. 408.

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It was at Stabiæ, in the villa of his friend Pomponianus, that the elder Pliny fell a victim to his ardent curiosity and thirst for knowledge. (Plin. Epist. VI. 16.)

According to Columella, this spot was celebrated for its fountains;

> Fontibus et Stabiæ celebres et Vesvia rura.
>
> R. Rust. X.

and such was the excellence of the pastures in its immediate vicinity, that the milk of this district was reputed to be more wholesome and nutritious than that of any other country.

The hill which rises behind the town of *Castelamare*, obtained from that circumstance the name of Mons Lactarius. (Procop. Rer. Goth. IV. Galen. de Meth. Med. V. Cassiod. Var. Epist. II. 10.)

Lactarius mons.

Taurania. Of Taurania, a town mentioned by Pliny as having been situated near Stabiæ, but which was in ruins in his day, nothing is at present known. (Plin. III. 5.) Perhaps this place should be identified with Thora, which Florus represents as destroyed by the bands of Spartacus. (III. 20.)

Thora.

Æqua. Continuing along the coast, about ten miles from *Castelamare*, is the little village of *Equa*, which doubtless answers to the Æqua of Silius Italicus.

> . . . . . patriosque sub ipso
> Quæsivit montes leto, ac felicia Baccho
> Æquana, et Zephyro Surrentum molle salubri.
>
> V. 464.

The neighbouring town of *Vico*, once a favourite residence of the kings of Naples, was formerly called

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Vicus Æquanus[k]. Beyond was Surrentum, now *Sorrento*, celebrated in modern times as the birthplace of Tasso, and admired for the exquisite beauty of its scenery and the salubrity of its climate. Surrentum.

This town is reported to be of very ancient date. It was said indeed to have derived its name from the sirens, who, as poets sung, in days of yore made this coast their favourite haunt, and had a temple consecrated to them. (Aristot. de Mirab. Strab. V. 247.)

> Est inter notos Sirenum nomine muros,
> Saxaque Tyrrhenæ templis onerata Minervæ,
> Celsa Dicarchei speculatrix villa profundi,
> Qua Bromio dilectus ager, collesque per altos
> Uritur, et prælis non invidet uva Falernis.
>
> Stat. Silv. II. 2.

Surrentum appears to have become a Roman colony in the reign of Augustus. Frontinus, from whom we learn this fact, informs us also that it was once occupied by Greeks; (de Col.) but Strabo describes it as a town of the Campanians. (V. 247. Cf. Mel. II. 4. Plin. III. 5. Ptol. p. 66. Suet. Aug. 65.) The wine of the Surrentine hills was held in great estimation by the ancients.

> Inde legit Capreas, promontoriumque Minervæ,
> Et Surrentino generosos palmite colles.
>
> Ovid. Metam. XV. 709.

> Surrentina bibis, nec myrrhina picta, nec aurum
> Sume: dabunt calices hæc tibi vina suos.
>
> Mart. XIII. Ep. 110.

> Caraque non molli juga Surrentina Lyæo.
>
> Stat. Silv. III. 5.

[k] Romanelli, t. iii. p. 552.

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Pliny however relates that Tiberius used to say of this wine, that physicians had agreed to give it a name, but that in reality it was only a better sort of vinegar. (XIV. 16. Cf. Strab. V. 243. Athen. I. 26. Colum. R. Rust. III. 2.)

The promontory which closes the bay of Naples to the south-west was sometimes named after Surrentum, from being close to that town. (Tacit. Ann. IV. 67.) It was also called the promontory of Minerva, as that goddess had a temple consecrated to her on that spot, said to have been raised by Ulysses. (Strab. V. 247.)

Surrentinum promontorium, quod et Minervæ, et Sirenusarum.

. . . . . quos e vertice Surrentino
Mittit Tyrrheni speculatrix virgo profundi.
STAT. SILV. V. 3.

Alta procelloso speculatur vertice Pallas.
SENEC. EPIST. 77.

Lastly, it may be observed, that it was not unfrequently termed the Sirens' Cape. (Strab. V. 247.) It is now *Punta della Campanella.* No ancient writer has done so much justice to the beautiful scenery of Surrentum and its enchanting coast as Statius, more especially in describing the villa of his friend Pollius.

. . . . . Placido lunata recessu
Hinc atque hinc curvas perrumpunt æquora rupes.
Dat natura locum: montique intervenit imum
Litus, et in terras scopulis pendentibus, exit.
* * * * * *
Mira quies pelagi: ponunt hic lassa furorem
Æquora, et insani spirant clementius Austri.
* * * * * *
Cum jam fessa dies, et in æquora montis opaci
Umbra cadit, vitreoque natant prætoria ponto.

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. . . . . quid mille revolvam
Culmina, visendique vices? sua cuique voluptas
Atque omni proprium thalamo mare, transque jacentem
Nerea diversis servit sua terra fenestris.
Hæc videt Inarimen, &c. SILV. II. 2.

The whole of the extensive bay confined between the promontories of Misenum and Surrentum was known to the ancients by the several names of Crater, Campanus, Cumanus, and Puteolanus Sinus. Strabo closes his description of the coast by observing, that the shores of this bay were so thickly lined with towns, villas, and other habitations, that the whole presented the appearance of one continued city. (V. 247. Id. I. 22. Mel. II. 4. Plin. II. 88.)

Crater, qui et Campanus, Cumanus, vel Puteolanus Sinus.

I now pass on to notice the few islands which are to be found on the Campanian coast. The largest as well as most celebrated of these is now known by the name of *Ischia*, but formerly it seems to have borne the various appellations of Ænaria, Inarime, and Pithecusa. Of these the first was the most common and best authenticated. (Liv. VIII. 22. Mel. II. 7. Suet. Aug. 90.) The second is only met with in the poets, and in their descriptions they commonly include the adjacent island of Prochyta, now *Procida*.

Ænaria, quæ et Inarime, vel Pithecusa insula.

Prochyta.

Tum sonitu Prochyta alta tremit, durumque cubile
Inarime Jovis imperiis imposta Typhœo.
ÆN. IX. 714.

Non Prochyte, non ardentem sortita Typhœa
Inarime. SIL. ITAL. VIII. 542.

Apparet Prochyto sævum sortita Mimanta:
Apparet procul Inarime, quæ turbine nigro
Fumantem premit Iäpetum, flammasque rebelli
Ore ejectantem. ID. XII. 147.

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. . . . . Campana fremens ceu saxa vaporat
Conditus Inarimes æterna mole Typhœus.
LUCAN. V. 100.

Hæc videt Inarimen, illi Prochyta aspera paret.
STAT. SILV. II. 2.

It appears from these passages that Virgil, and after him the other Latin poets, have applied to the island of *Ischia* more particularly Homer's description of the place of torment allotted to the earth-born Typhœus.

Γαῖα δ' ὑπεστονάχιζε, Διὶ ὣς τερπικεραύνῳ
Χωομένῳ, ὅτε τ' ἀμφὶ Τυφωεῖ γαῖαν ἱμάσσῃ
Εἰν Ἀρίμοις, ὅθι φασὶ Τυφωέος ἔμμεναι εὐνάς.
IL. B. 781.

But it is very uncertain what people or country Homer intended to designate by the name of Arimi. Those who apply the circumstance to the island now under consideration observe that the word Inarime is of Tuscan origin, signifying apes, and that the Greeks rendered it by the term Pithecusæ, which has a corresponding meaning in their language. Pliny, however, states, that the name does not derive its origin from the abundance of apes to be found in the island, but from the number of earthen vessels which were used there instead of casks. (III.6.)

We are informed by Strabo that *Ischia* was first occupied by a colony of Eretrians and Chalcidians, which flourished for a time, on account of the fertility of the soil, and the wealth produced by the discovery of some gold mines. A sedition, however, having disturbed the tranquillity of the colony, the Chalcidians were the first to abandon the island, and not long after the Eretrians followed their example, being alarmed by repeated earthquakes and the bursting out of fire and hot springs, attended by

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irruptions of the sea. The same causes compelled another colony, subsequently sent by Hiero king of Syracuse, to quit their settlement, and a town which they had built. Strabo ascribes to these volcanic phenomena all the fabulous accounts invented by the poet with respect to Typhœus; he further quotes the historian Timæus, who related that a little before his time mount Epopeus, now sometimes called *Epomeo*, but more commonly *Monte San Nicolo*, burst forth with such fury, that the sea retired from the island to the distance of three stadia, but that on its return it deluged the island, and extinguished the volcano. The inhabitants of the opposite coast were so alarmed, that they fled into the interior of Campania. (Strab. V. 247. Cf. Plin. II. 88. Jul. Obs. de Prod.) It may be remarked, that the name of Pithecusæ is also applied frequently to both the islands of *Ischia* and *Procida*. (Cic. ad Att. X. 15. Plin. III. 103. Liv. VIII. 22.) It is not easy to distinguish what rocks Ovid meant to describe when he says,

Epopeus Mons.

. . . . . Orbataque præside pinus
Inarimen, Prochytenque legit, sterilique locatas
Colle Pithecusas, habitantum nomine dictas.
METAM. XIV. 88.

Juvenal seems to speak of Prochyta as of every thing that is wretched and lonely;

. . . . . Ego vel Prochytam præpono Suburræ.
Nam quid tam miserum, et tam solum vidimus, ut non
Deterius credas horrere incendia, lapsus
Tectorum assiduos, ac mille pericula sævæ
Urbis. — SAT. III. 5.

a character which the island in its present state by no means deserves.

Between *Pozzuoli* and *Naples*, and within a short

Nesis insula.

distance of the shore, is the little island of *Nisida*, anciently called Nesis, which Cicero mentions as a favourite residence of his friend Brutus. (ad Att. XVI. Ep. I. et seq.)

This rock is also represented as subject to the action of subterraneous fires, but these have now ceased to exert their force.

> . . . . . tali spiramine Nesis
> Emittit Stygium nebulosis aëra saxis,
> Antraque lethiferi rabiem Typhonis anhelant.
> LUCAN. VI. 90.

> . . . . . inde malignum
> Aëra respirat pelago circumflua Nesis.
> STAT. SILV. II. 2.

Statius elsewhere alludes to it as being crowned with wood.

> Spectat et Icario nemorosus palmite Gaurus,
> Silvaque, quæ fixam pelago Nesida coronat.
> SILV. III. 1.

Limon, Euplœa, Megalia insulæ.

In the line which follows, mention is made of two other small islands called Limon and Euplœa.

> Et placidus Limon, numenque Euplœa carinis.

The former is supposed to be the rock near *Nisida*, on which a lazaretto has been constructed; the second answers probably to *la Gaiola*, an islet close under the hill of *Posilypo*.

> Inde vagis omen felix Euplœa carinis,
> Quæque ferit curvos exerta Megalia fluctus.
> Angitur et domino contra recubante, proculque
> Surrentina tuus spectat prætoria Limon.
> STAT. SILV. II. 2.

Megalia has already been noticed as the rock on

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which the *Castel del Ovo*, that commands the entrance to the harbour of Naples, has been constructed.

The island of *Capri*, anciently Capreæ, situated near the promontory of Minerva, is chiefly known in history as the abode of Tiberius, and the scene of his infamous debauchery. Tradition reported that it was first in the possession of the Teleboæ, who are mentioned as a people of Greece, inhabiting the Echinades, a group of islands at the mouth of the Achelous, in Acarnania; (Vid. Schol. in Apol. Rhod. Argon. I.) but how they came to settle in *Capri* no one has informed us. Capreæ insula.

> Nec tu carminibus nostris indictus abibis,
> Œbale: quem generasse Telon Sebethide Nympha
> Fertur, Teleboum Capreas quum regna teneret
> Jam senior. — ÆN. VII. 733.

> . . . . . non antiqui saxosa Telonis
> Insula. — SIL. ITAL. VIII. 543.

> Teleboumque domos, trepidis ubi dulcia nautis
> Lumina noctivagæ tollit Pharus æmula Lunæ.
> STAT. SILV. III. 5.

Augustus was the first emperor who made this island his residence, being struck, as Suetonius relates, with the happy presage of an old decayed ilex having, as it was said, revived on his arrival there. Not long after, he obtained the island from the Neapolitans, by giving them in exchange that of *Ischia*, which belonged to him. (Suet. Aug. 92. Dio. Cass. LII.) Tiberius was led to select this spot for his abode, from its difficulty of access, being cut off from all approach, except on one side, by lofty and perpendicular cliffs. The mildness of the climate, and the

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beauty of the prospect, which extends over the whole bay of Naples, might also, as Tacitus remarks, have influenced his choice. Here he caused twelve villas to be erected, which he is supposed to have named after the twelve chief deities[l]. (Tacit. Ann. IV. 67.) The ruins of the villa of Jove, which was the most conspicuous, and probably is the same which Pliny styles the Arx Tiberii, (III. 6.) are still to be seen on the summit of the cliff looking towards *Sorrento*. This writer computes the circuit of the island to be eleven miles.

Arx Tiberii.

I shall not enter into the disgusting account of that emperor's residence in *Capri*,

> Principis, angusta Caprearum in rupe sedentis
> Cum grege Chaldæo. — JUV. SAT. X. 93.

it may be seen in the pages of Tacitus and Suetonius.

Strabo speaks of two small towns in this island, which probably answer to those of *Capri* and *Anacapri* at the present day[m]. (Strab. V. 248.) Statius seems to apply the name of Taurubulæ to its towering cliffs.

Taurubulæ Scopuli.

> . . . . . dites Capreæ, viridesque resultant
> Taurubulæ, et terris ingens redit æquoris echo.
> SILV. III. 1.

And we are informed by a modern writer, that two of these crags are still designated by the appellation of *Toro grande* and *Toro piccolo*[n].

It will now be necessary to retrace our steps as

[l] Lips. in Tacit. Ann. p. 96.

[m] For a detailed account of the antiquities and monuments found in this island, see the work of Hadrava, entitled, Ragu-agli di varii Scavi e scoverte di Antichità fatte nell'isola di Capri. 8vo. Napoli, 1793.

[n] Romanelli, t. iii. p. 558.

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far as the northern frontiers of Campania, in order to enter upon the description of the interior of that province. It has been stated, that the Massic hills formed its boundary of separation from Latium. This celebrated range is represented by the Campanian topographers as entirely detached from the chain of the Apennines, and as extending from the sea in the immediate vicinity of *Mondragone*, or Sinuessa, in a northerly direction, till it unites with the hills of *Sessa*, the ancient Suessa Auruncorum; being a distance of about ten miles in length, whilst its breadth scarcely equals three. The Latin poets are lavish of their encomiums on the excellence of the wine produced by this celebrated ridge. Mons Massicus.

Sed gravidæ fruges, et Bacchi Massicus humor
Implevere; tenent oleæ armentaque læta.
GEORG. II. 144.

Uviferis late florebat Massicus arvis,
Miratus nemora et lucentes Sole racemos.
Id monti decus. — SIL. ITAL. VII. 207.

Est qui nec veteris pocula Massici,
Nec partem solido demere de die
Spernit. — HOR. I. OD. 1.

Quocunque lectum nomine Massicum
Servas, moveri digna bono die;
Descende, Corvino jubente
Promere languidiora vina. ID. III. OD. 21.

To the north of the Massic hills, and on the left bank of the Liris, we find the Aurunci, already mentioned in the last section as having once occupied a more extensive territory in Latium; but on being expelled from thence by the Roman arms, they re-

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tired to the mountainous tract about *Sessa* and *Rocca Monfina*.

Suessa Aurunconum.

Sessa is universally acknowledged to represent the ancient Suessa of the Aurunci, which, as Livy informs us, became their principal city, when the former capital, which was probably called Aurunca, was destroyed by the neighbouring Sidicini. (Liv. VIII. 15.) Suessa became a Roman colony A. U. C. 441. (Liv. IX. 28. Vell. Paterc. I. 14. Plin. III. 5. Ptol. p. 66.) and according to Cicero, was also a municipal town. He represents it as having suffered considerably during the civil wars which preceded the second triumvirate. (Phil. III. 4. and XIII. 8.)

> . . . . . nec monte nivoso
> Descendens Atina aberat, detritaque bellis
> Suessa. SIL. ITAL. VIII. 400.

Aurunca.

Some vestiges of Aurunca, it is said, may still be traced near the church of *S^a. Croce*, which is situated on the elevated ridge, which rises in the vicinity of *Rocca Monfina*[o]. Virgil probably alludes to this ancient metropolis of the Aurunci, when he says,

> Mille rapit populos: vertunt felicia Baccho
> Massica qui rastris; et quos de collibus altis
> Aurunci misere patres. — ÆN. VII. 725.

[o] Perotta Sede degli Aurunci, l. i. c. 7—9. Romanelli, t. iii. p. 444. Some very rare medals have been published by Sestini and others, which unquestionably belong to the Aurunci. They bear the name of that people in Greek characters, ΑΥΡΥΓΚΩΝ, and on the reverse an ear of corn. The coins of Suessa, which are less scarce, have the legend SUESANO, partly in Latin, and partly in the Oscan character. The names of magistrates appear in Greek characters. Avellino. Giorn. Numis. Suppl. vol. i. p. 5. Sestini Monet. Vet. &c. p. 13. and 14.

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To the east of the Aurunci, we must look for the territory of the ancient Sidicini, Sidicini.

> . . . . . et quos de collibus altis
> Aurunci misere patres, Sidicinaque juxta
> Æquora. — ÆN. VII. 726.

once apparently an independent people, but included afterwards under the common name of Campani, within the limits of that province which we are now traversing. This apparently insignificant nation of Oscan origin, as we learn from Strabo, (V. 237.) was, however, sufficiently powerful and warlike to contend with the neighbouring Samnites, and even to afford employment to a large Roman force. Unable to resist at length the repeated attacks of the former, they summoned the Campanians to their assistance; but even their aid proved insufficient, and the successes of the victorious Samnites were only checked by the powerful interference of Rome. (Liv. VII. 29. et seq.) The Sidicini did not however, like the Campanians, become the dependants of Rome, without a struggle; they still retained their freedom, and even ventured to engage in hostilities with that formidable power. Nor are we informed by Livy, who states this fact, (VIII. 17.) at what time they were reduced, but it may be conjectured that they did not long preserve their independence.

The only town which antiquity ascribes to the Sidicini is Teanum, now *Teano*, distant about six miles from *Sessa*, and fifteen from Capua. Strabo informs us that it stood on the Latin way, being the most considerable of all the towns so situated, and inferior to Capua only in extent and importance amongst the Campanian cities. (V. 237. and 248.) This fact seems to acquire additional evidence from Teanum Sidicinum.

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the numerous remains of walls and public buildings said to be still visible on this ancient site [p].

Teanum became a Roman colony under Augustus: (Front. de Col. Plin. III. 5. Ptol. p. 66.) this town is also mentioned by Polybius. (III. 91. Liv. XXII. 57. Cic. ad Att. VIII. 13. Appian. Civ. Bell. I. 45.) Some cold acidulous springs are noticed in its vicinity by Vitruvius; (VIII. Plin. XXXI. 2. Aul. Gell. X. 3.) they are now called *Acqua delle Caldarelle* [q].

Venafrum. The last city of Campania to the north was Venafrum, now *Venafri*, placed also on the Latin way, and near the river Vulturnus. (Strab. V. 238.) It is much celebrated in antiquity for the excellence of the oil which its territory produced.

> Ille terrarum mihi præter omnes
> Angulus ridet; ubi non Hymetto
> Mella decedunt, viridique certat
> Bacca Venafro. HOR. II. OD. 6.

> . . . . . insuper addes
> Pressa Venafranæ quod bacca remisit olivæ.
> ID. SAT. II. 4. 68.

> Hoc tibi Campani sudavit bacca Venafri:
> Unguentum, quoties sumis, et istud olet.
> MART. XIII. EP. 98.

> Uncto Corduba lætior Venafro.
> ID. XII. EP. 64.

(Cf. Cic. Orat. pro Planc. Cat. R. Rust. 135. Plin.

[p] Pratilli Via Appia, l. ii. c. 9. Romanelli, t. iii. p. 455. Numismatic writers have not failed to notice the coins of Teanum. Some of these have the legend TIANO in Latin characters, others of a more ancient date bear the epigraph TEANUR and TIANUR SIDIKINUD, for Teanorum Sidicinorum, in retrograde Oscan characters. Avellino. Giorn. Numis. t. i. p. 25. Sestini Monet. Vet. p. 14.

[q] Pratilli Via Appia, l. ii. c. 9. p. 227.

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XVI. 2. Juv. Sat. V. Appian. Civ. Bell. I. 41. Ptol. p. 66.)

To the south of Teanum, and also on the Latin way, we find Cales, in modern geography *Calvi*, for- Cales.
merly a considerable Campanian city[r]. (Strab. V. 237.) The territories of these towns were separated by two temples dedicated to Fortune, one on the right, the other on the left of the Via Latina. (Id. V. 248.) According to Livy, Cales formerly belonged to the Ausones, but was conquered by the Romans, and colonized A. U. C. 421. (Liv. VIII. 16. and XXVII. 9. Vell. Paterc. I. 14.) Its antiquity is attested by Virgil and Silius Italicus.

. . . . . vertunt felicia Baccho
Massica qui rastris: et quos de collibus altis
Aurunci misere patres, Sidicinaque juxta
Æquora; quique Cales linquunt. —
ÆN. VII. 725.

Nec cedit studio Sidicinus sanguine miles,
Quem genuere Cales: non parvus conditor urbi
Ut fama est Calaïs. — SIL. ITAL. VIII. 513.

(Cf. Cic. Orat. I. pro Leg. Agr. ad Att. VIII. 15. Val. Max. III. 8. Tacit. Ann. VI. 15. Ptol. p. 66.) The Ager Calenus was much celebrated for its vineyards.

Cæcubum, et prælo domitam Caleno
Tu bibes uvam. — HOR. I. OD. 20.

Premant Calena falce, quibus dedit
Fortuna vitem. — ID. I. OD. 31.

It was contiguous in fact to that famous district so well known in antiquity under the name of Falernus Falernus Ager.

[r] The coins of Cales, with the epigraph CALENO, are numerous. Sestini Monet. Vet. p. 14.

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Ager, as producing the best wine in Italy, or indeed in the world.

> Hic vero, intravit postquam uberis arva Falerni,
> (Dives ea, et numquam tellus mentita colono)
> Addunt frugiferis inimica incendia ramis.
> Haud fas, Bacche, tuos tacitum tramittere honores,
> Quamquam magna incepta vocant: memorabere, sacri
> Largitor laticis, gravidæ cui nectare vites
> Nulli dant prælis nomen præferre Falernis.
>
> SIL. ITAL. VII. 159.

> Cæcubum, et prælo domitam Caleno
> Tu bibes uvam: mea nec Falernæ
> Temperant vites, neque Formiani
> Pocula colles. HOR. I. OD. 20.

> Candida nunc molli subeant convivia luco,
> Blanditæque fluant per mea colla rosæ:
> Vinaque fundantur prælis elisa Falernis,
> Terque lavet nostras spica Cilissa comas.
>
> PROPERT. IV. EL. 6.

Without pretending to fix the limits of this favoured portion of Campania with scrupulous accuracy, it seems evident, from the testimony of Livy and Pliny, that we must regard it as extending from the Massic hills to the Vulturnus. (Liv. XXII. 13. Plin. XIV. 6.) That part of the district, which grew the choicest wine, was distinguished by the name of Faustianus, being that of a village about six miles from Sinuessa. (Plin. loc. cit.) We find the name of Amineæ also given to some vineyards in this vicinity. Macrobius indeed states, that there was a people called Aminei. (Saturn. II. 16.)

Faustianus Ager et Vicus.

Aminei.

> Purpureæ, preciæque: et quo te carmine dicam,
> Rhætica? nec cellis ideo contende Falernis.
> Sunt etiam Amineæ vites, firmissima vina.
>
> GEORG. II. 95.

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The precise situation of another district called Statanus, and also celebrated for its wine, is unknown; we only learn from Pliny that it was contiguous to the Falernian territory. (loc. cit. Cf. Strab. V. 234. Athen. Deipnos. I. 21.) Statanus Ager.

Not far from Sinuessa, we may notice the Cæditius Campus, and the Cæditiæ Tabernæ; the latter were situated, as Festus informs us, on the Appian way; they both derived their name, according to Pliny, from a small town called Cædia, in this vicinity [s]. (XIV. 6.) Not far from hence, the abovementioned road crossed the Savo by a bridge named Pons Campanus, which recalls the lines in Horace, Cæditius Campus. Cæditiæ Tabernæ. Cædia. Pons Campanus.

> Proxima Campano ponti quæ villula, tectum
> Præbuit; et parochi, quæ debent, ligna salemque.
> I. Sat. 5. 45.

About three miles further on the Appian way was Urbana, said to have been colonized under Sylla, but it was afterwards incorporated with Capua; (Plin. XIV. 6.) we find it also mentioned in the Tabula Theodosiana. Urbana.

The tract of country lying between the Appian way and the sea, and the rivers Savo and Vulturnus, was anciently distinguished from the Falernian territory by the specific appellation of Campus Stellatis. It was in this district that Hannibal found himself enclosed, when, having penetrated from Samnium into Campania by the pass of mount Callicula, he was led by an error of his guide towards Casilinum instead of Casinum, as he had intended. (Liv. XXII. 13.) Suetonius seems to censure Cæsar for having made a division of these lands which had been hitherto Stellatis Campus.

[s] Holsten. Adnot. p. 252. Pratilli Via Appia, l. ii. c. 6.

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considered as sacred. (Cæs. 20. Cicer. de Leg. Agr. II. 31.)

To the north of the Appian way, and near the road leading from *Tiano* to Capua, antiquaries place the Forum Popilii of Dionysius [t], which is also noticed by Pliny, as being situated in the Falernian district, (III. 5.) and by Ptolemy. (p. 66.) The first of these writers states, that not far from this place were to be seen the remains of a most ancient Pelasgic city called Larissa, a name common apparently to many settlements of that nation. (Dion. Hal. I. 21.) About five miles north-east of Forum Popilii was Trebula, which stood at the foot of the chain already alluded to as the Mons Callicula of Livy, and which separated Campania from Samnium. In Polybius, the name of this mountain is written Ἐρίβιανὸν, but this is thought to be a corruption of the text, and we ought probably to read Τρεβιανὸν, in reference to Trebula, or Trebia, the town in its vicinity. (Polyb. III. 92.) In Livy (XXIII. 14.) mention is also made of the Ager Trebianus, but Trebula itself is named in the thirty-ninth chapter of the same book, and much earlier in the Roman history; where Livy informs us that the Trebulani obtained the privileges of Roman citizens. (X. 1.) Pliny distinguishes this people by the additional name of Balinienses, from the Trebulani, whom we have before had occasion to notice in the Sabine country. (Plin. III. 5. Cf. Ptol. p. 66. Cic. ad Att. V. Ep. 2. and 3.) It is said that the ruins of this town are still to be seen near a small village which retains some vestiges of the ancient name in that of *Treglia* [u].

Forum Popilii.

Larissa Pelasgorum.

Trebula.

Callicula Mons.

[t] Pratilli Via Appia, l. ii. c. 9. Holsten. Adnot. p. 250. Trutta Antich. Alif. Disc. 21.

[u] Pellegrini Discor. II. c. 32.

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Returning to the Appian way and the Vulturnus, we find Casilinum, celebrated in history for the obstinate defence which it made against Hannibal after the battle of Cannæ. It appears from Livy, that the river Vulturnus divided the town into two parts, and that on the right bank was occupied by the Roman garrison, whilst the other was in the possession of the Carthaginian army, which was thus enabled to cut off all supplies, except such as might be conveyed down the stream; by this means the brave handful of soldiers who defended the town were at length forced to surrender. (Liv. XXIII. 17. et seq. Val. Max. VII. 6.) Casilinum.

> Post Casilina sibi, multum obluctatus iniquis
> Defendentum armis, ægre reseraverat astu
> Limina, et obsessis vitam pensaverat auro.
>
> SIL. ITAL. XII. 426.

Many years after, Casilinum received a Roman colony under the consulship of Julius Cæsar, which was further strengthened by M. Antony. (Appian. Civ. Bell. III. 40. Cic. Phil. II.) This town appears to have been still in existence in the time of Strabo; (V. 249.) but Pliny, who wrote some time after, speaks of it as being reduced to the lowest state of insignificance. (III. 5.) It is however mentioned by Ptolemy. (p. 66.) The modern Capua is generally supposed to occupy the site of Casilinum [x].

About two miles to the south-east, and close to the church of *S^a. Maria di Capoa*, are the ruins of the ancient Capua, once the capital town of Campania, and inferior to Rome only among the cities of Italy. Capua.

Though great researches have been made, and much has been written on the origin of this cele-

[x] Pratilli Via Appia, l. ii. c. 12. p. 257.

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brated city, we are still ignorant of many circumstances relative to its early history. Nor will this appear surprising, when we are told that the ancients themselves possessed no certain knowledge either of the founders of Capua, or of the period from which they ought to date its existence. It is needless for me to enter upon the numerous traditions and fables in which the first rise of this city is enveloped, or the various etymologies which have been assigned to its name; on such points I shall refer the reader to Servius, in his commentary on the line of Virgil,

> Et Capys: hinc nomen Campanæ ducitur urbi.
> Æn. X. 145.

and other grammarians, and pass on to collect briefly what may be considered as the best authenticated documents for the history of Capua.

It was stated in the opening of this section, that the Oscans, whether they are to be identified as the Ausones, or regarded as a distinct people, are always spoken of as the first inhabitants of Campania; but we are informed also that they dwelt only in villages, and had no towns enclosed by walls. (Strab. V. 250.) Next to these came the Tuscans, a far more powerful and civilized nation, who, according to the best authorities, founded an empire, and built several cities in the plains of Campania; among these was certainly Capua, though it probably did not receive that name in the first instance from its Tuscan founders; for Livy assures us, that prior to its bearing that appellation, the Tuscans called it Vulturnum[y]. The pre-

[y] This name, which Varro declares not to be Latin, (de Ling. Lat. IV.) has every appearance of belonging to the Etruscan language.

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cise period at which the conquest of Campania by this people was achieved is not clearly marked in history; for Velleius Paterculus observes that Cato fixed the foundation of Capua about 250 years before it fell into the hands of the Romans, which would bring it only to the 152d year of Rome; whereas he himself was inclined to follow other accounts, which assigned to the building of Capua a period more ancient by fifty years than that of the foundation of Rome. (Vell. Paterc. I. 7. Cf. Polyb. II. 17. Dion. Hal. VII. 10. Plut. vit. C. Mar.) But whatever date we are to affix to the occupation of this city by the Etruscans, we know that it was at length wrested from them by the Samnites, who, as Livy reports, took Capua by surprise during the celebration of a festival, and possessed themselves of its ample and fertile territory. (IV. 37. Cf. Strab. V. 242.) Of the truth of this fact we can hardly entertain a doubt, since Livy represents the Samnites as being masters of Capua (IV. 52.) in several other passages. It was probably in consequence of this revolution that the Etruscan name of Vulturnum was changed to that of Capua, whether we derive the latter from the word "campus," with Livy[z], (IV. 37.) or the term "caput," with Strabo. (V. 248.)

From this event we may also probably date the origin of the name of Campani, which thenceforth superseded the former distinctions of Oscans and Etruscans. It is evident, however, that the successful invasion of Capua by the Samnites was ef-

[z] This etymology seems confirmed by the epigraph of some Oscan coins attributed to Capua, in which the letters KANP. would prove that the name of this town was originally Canpua or Campua. Romanelli, t. iii. p. 461.

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fected by a portion only of that warlike people; for had the conquest been achieved by the whole nation, mention would not have been made of hostilities subsequently carried on between the two countries. It was eighty years after the taking of Capua, that the Campani found themselves once more engaged in war with the Samnite nation on behalf of the Sidicini, who had sought their assistance. The ill success which attended their operations in the field, and the danger which threatened their state, compelled them to have recourse to the powerful aid of the Romans, from whom they obtained the protection they sought. (Liv. VII. 31.) Though Capua was delivered from the attacks of the Samnites, it seems shortly after to have incurred no less a danger from those very troops which had been employed in its defence. Such being the influence of their residence in this rich and luxurious town upon the Roman soldiers, that they formed the design of seizing upon it in the same manner as the Campanians had themselves surprised its ancient possessors; fortunately, however, this bold enterprise was frustrated by the vigilance and prudence of the Roman consul. (Liv. VII. 38.)

We are not informed what causes induced a great portion of the Campanians not long after to join the Latin forces against the Romans; but the consequences of this measure seem to have proved injurious to their interests; Campania became the seat of war; and the allies, after repeated defeats, were forced to sue for peace, when the Campanians were compelled to give up the Falernian territory to Rome, and to pay an annual fine to those of their countrymen who had not revolted. (Liv. VIII. 11.)

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About eighteen years after these events, the Capuans were enabled to efface the unfavourable impression which had been raised against them by the seasonable and friendly aid which they tendered to the Roman army immediately after the ignominious convention of the Caudine Forks. (Liv. IX. 6.) It would have been well for the Campanians, if they had persevered in a policy which their unwarlike and indolent character seemed to point out as most suited to their interests. Under the protection of Rome, Capua attained the highest degree of prosperity, and its celebrity extended not only to every part of Italy, but even to Greece and Sicily, where we find the Campanian soldiers forming a considerable part of the forces of Agathocles. (Polyb. I. 7.) But the natural pride and ambition of the Campanians increasing with these accessions of fame and importance, could not resist the temptation held out to them by the successes of Hannibal, of being raised through his means to the first rank among the Italian cities. I shall not here enter into the detail of the negociations carried on between that great commander and the Capuans, as they are related at great length in the twenty-third book of Livy. It is well known that the alliance which was formed proved fatal to both parties. The Carthaginian forces, enervated by the pleasures of Capua, could no longer obtain the same brilliant successes which had hitherto attended their victorious career, and that city soon saw itself threatened by a powerful Roman army, encamped before its walls. The siege was formed and carried on with that determination which the desire of vengeance inspires. Hannibal, baffled in all his attempts to create a di-

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version in favour of his unfortunate allies, was compelled to leave them to their fate. Capua was then reduced to the necessity of surrendering to its incensed and, as the event too surely proved, merciless foe. Those senators who had not by a voluntary death anticipated the sentence of the Roman general, fell under the axe of the lictor. The citizens were reduced to slavery; their lands and public edifices were declared to be Roman property. All the privileges and rights which Capua had enjoyed as a corporation were annulled: without magistrates or council, it was reduced to the lowest condition of a præfectura; even the walls and habitations were only spared, as Livy reports, in order that the best lands of Italy might not be destitute of cultivators. (Liv. XXVI. 16. and 34. Cic. Orat. de Leg. Agr. II.)

Such was the state in which this once opulent and flourishing town remained for one hundred and fifty years, when the Roman senate, or rather Julius Cæsar, was induced, from its faithful and steady conduct during the troubles of the Social war, to restore it to a certain degree of importance by raising it to the rank of a Roman colony. (Cæs. Civ. Bell. I. 14. Vell. Paterc. II. 44. Front. de Col.) We learn also that Capua received further marks of favour from Augustus; (Appian. Civ. Bell. IV. 3. Dio. Cass. XLIX.) and in Strabo's time it appears to have recovered all its former magnificence and grandeur. (V. 248.) The last important increase it obtained was under Nero; (Tacit. Ann. XIII. 31. Plin. XIV. 6.) but we know from inscriptions that it continued to flourish till a late period of the Roman empire, when it fell, like Rome, under the re-

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peated attacks and devastations of the Goths, Vandals, and Lombards[a].

From the remains of this celebrated city antiquaries have been led to estimate its circumference at between five and six miles, and its population at no less than 300,000 inhabitants; and if we consider that the amphitheatre was capable of containing 100,000 persons, and that the gladiators habitually trained here amounted to 40,000, (Cic. ad Att. VII. 14.) this number will not appear overrated.

These writers inform us, that the ancient city was furnished with seven gates, leading to different parts of Campania and Italy. Of these the Porta Casilinensis, and Porta Albana, afforded a passage for the Appian way. The Porta Jovis, mentioned by Livy, (XXVI. 14.) is supposed to have led to the temple of Jove, on mount Tifata. The gates called Cumana, Atellana, and Liternina, opened in the direction of the several towns from which they derived their names. The two principal quarters of the town were called Seplasia and Albana, the first of which seems to have been noted as the abode of perfumers and venders of pomatum[b]. (Fest. v. Seplas. Cic. Orat. de Leg. Agr. II. et Orat. in Pis. Val. Max. IX. 1.)

About a mile to the east of Capua rose mount Tifata, a branch of the Apennines, which now takes its name from the village of *Maddaloni*, near *Caserta*. The original signification of the word Ti- Tifata Mons.

[a] Pratilli Via Appia, l. iii. c. 2. p. 333.

[b] On the antiquities of Capua the reader may consult Camillo Pellegrino delle Ant. Capoane; Pratilli Via Appia, l. iii. c. 1. Daniele Numism. Cap. Granata Storia di Capua, and Romanelli, t. iii. p. 578.

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fata, according to Festus, answered to that of the Latin term "iliceta;" but Tifata itself, though originally perhaps an Oscan appellation, was certainly at one time in use among the Latins; for Festus likewise informs us, that there was a Curia of that name at Rome; and Pliny mentions Tifata among the ancient towns of Latium which had ceased to exist long before his time. (III. 5.)

This ridge is often noticed by Livy as a favourite position of Hannibal, when in the vicinity of Capua. (XXIII. 36. and 39. and XXVI. 5.)

> . . . . . arduus ipse
> Tifata insidit, propior qua mœnibus instat
> Collis, et e tumulis subjectam despicit urbem.
> SIL. ITAL. XII. 486.

> Tifata umbrifero generatum monte Calenum·
> Nutrierant. ID. XIII. 219.

Here also were two celebrated temples consecrated to Diana and Jove; the former is alluded to by Vell. Paterculus, who mentions that Sylla there returned thanks to the goddess for a victory which he had gained over Norbanus.

Caulum. Near Capua is the village of *Caulo*, which was formerly called Caulum, and gave its name to the vinum Caulinum, noticed by Pliny. (XIV. 6.) In the same passage, this writer speaks of the vinum Trebellicum as growing near Neapolis, and of the vinum Trifolinum generally as the produce of Campania; but of the topography of these vineyards we are now ignorant[c]: the latter wine was known to Martial, but he classes it among the inferior sorts.

[c] Romanelli, t. iii. p. 577.

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Non sum de primo fateor Trifolina Lyæo,
Inter vina tamen septima vitis ero.
XIII. Ep. 114.

About five miles south-east from Capua are the ruins of Calatia, or Galatia, an ancient town of Campania, which it is important not to confound with another city of the same name, situated in Samnium, and on the right bank of the Vulturnus. Cluverius, who was not aware of the existence of the Campanian Calatia, has attributed to the Samnite town many circumstances which evidently belong to the former, and this has led him into several other errors. The most obvious and important of these is his supposition that the Appian way traversed the Samnite Calatia[d], whereas it certainly passed through the Campanian town. He considers also the former as the place near which the Roman generals were encamped previous to their falling into the snare laid for them by the Samnite commander at the Caudine Forks, though every probability, as I purpose to shew when inquiring into those military transactions, points out the latter as the position first occupied by the Roman army. (Liv. IX. 2.) We find mention made of this town in another passage of the same historian, (IX. 28.) in conjunction with Atina, where it is evident we ought to read Atella. Elsewhere he informs us that it was occupied by Hannibal, on his march from Tarentum to succour Capua. (Liv. XXVI. 5.) The Calatini were involved in the punishment inflicted upon Capua (Liv. XXVI. 16.) Calatia.

[d] Ital. Antiq. vol. ii. p. 1196.

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Jamque Atella suas, jamque et Calatia adegit,
Fas superante metu, Pœnorum in castra cohortes.
SIL. ITAL. XI. 14.

and their town, as we learn from Festus, was also reduced to the condition of a præfectura. It was, however, afterwards colonized by Sylla, (Front. de Col.) and is stated to have joined the party of Augustus in his contest with M. Antony. (Appian. Civ. Bell. III. 40. Cic. ad Att. XVI. Ep. 6.) Strabo twice notices Calatia as being situated on the Appian way, but once under the corrupt name of Callateria. (V. 248. and VI. 282.) In Pliny we find it written Galatia, (III. 5.) and the supposition that this was the true orthography of the name is somewhat confirmed by the modern appellation of *Galazze* still attached to the ruins of this city[e].

Suessula. A little to the south of Calatia was Suessula, the name of which has undergone scarcely any alteration in that of *Sessola*[f]. Mention of this town occurs often in Livy during the Samnite and second Punic wars. (VII. 37.) In the latter it was occupied for a long time by the Roman army under Marcellus, when opposed to Hannibal. (XXIII. 14. and 17. Cf. Strab. V. 249. Plin. III. 5.)

Atella. To the west of Suessula was Atella, the ruins of which, as Holstenius reports, are still to be seen near the village of *S. Elpidio*, or *S. Arpino*[g], about two

[e] Pellegr. Disc. II. p. 355. Holsten. Adnot. p. 268. Pratilli Via Appia, l. iii. c. 4. Numismatic writers ascribe to the Campanian Calatia the coins with the head of Jupiter on the obverse, and the legend KALAT and KALATI in retrograde Oscan characters, on the reverse. Mionnet. Med. Ant. Suppl. vol. i. p. 232. Sestini Monet. Vet. p. 13.

[f] Pratilli Via Appia, l. iii. c. 3. p. 348. Lettieri Storia di Suessola.

[g] Holsten. Adnot. p. 260.

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miles from the town of *Aversa*. Atella is known to have been an Oscan city, and it has acquired some importance in the history of Roman literature from the circumstance of the name and origin of the farces called Fabulæ Atellanæ being derived from thence. We are told that these comic representations were so much relished by the Roman people, that the actors were allowed privileges not usually extended to that class of persons; but these amusements, having at length given rise to various excesses, were prohibited under the reign of Tiberius, and the players banished from Italy. (Liv. VII. 2. Strab. V. 233. Tacit. Ann. IV. 14.) Atella, in consequence of having joined the Carthaginians, after the battle of Cannæ, was reduced, with several other Campanian towns, to the condition of a præfectura, on the surrender of Capua to the Romans. (Liv. XXII. 61. and XXVI. 34.) Subsequently, however, it is mentioned by Cicero as a municipal town; (ad Fam. XIII. 7.) and Frontinus states that it was colonized by Augustus[h]. (Cf. Strab. V. 249. Cic. de Leg. Agr. II. Plin. III. 5. Ptol. p. 66.)

Between Atella and Cumæ, and about three miles from the latter city, was a spot called Hamæ, at which the Capuans, on some occasions, assembled for religious purposes. (Liv. XXIII. 35.) Hamæ.

Near the source of the Clanius, now *l'Agno*, was Acerræ, which retains its name unchanged. Acerræ.

. . . . . et vacuis Clanius non æquus Acerris.
GEOR. II. 225.

Allifæ, et Clanio contemptæ semper Acerræ.
SIL. ITAL. VIII. 537.

[h] Some coins which have been hitherto assigned to Acerræ are now restored to Atella Sestini Monet. Vet. p. 13.

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This town is noticed for the first time in Livy, as having received the rights of a Roman city, A. U. C. 442. (VIII. 17.) In the second Punic war it was destroyed by Hannibal, the inhabitants having deserted it on his approach. (Liv. XXIII. 17.) They returned, however, to their homes when the enemy had evacuated Campania, and restored the town to its former state. (Id. XXVII. 3.) Under the reign of Augustus, as Frontinus reports, it received a Roman colony. (Cf. Strab. V. 249. Plin. III. 5.)

Nola.

To the south-east of Acerræ was Nola, one of the most ancient and important cities of Campania. The earliest record we have of this town is from Hecatæus, who is cited by Steph. Byz. (v. Νῶλα.) That ancient historian, in one of his geographical works, described it as a city of the Ausones. According to some accounts, Nola was said to have been founded by the Tuscans. (Vell. Paterc. I. 6. Polyb. II. 17.) Others again represented it as a colony of the Chalcidians[i]. (Justin. XX.)

> Hinc ad Chalcidicam transfert citus agmina Nolam.
> SIL. ITAL. XII. 161.

All which statements may be reconciled by admitting that it successively fell into the possession of these different people.

Nola afterwards appears to have been occupied by the Samnites, together with other Campanian towns, until they were expelled by the Romans. (Liv. IX. 28. Diod. Sic. XX. Strab. V. 249.) Though

[i] These were doubtless the Chalcidians of Cumæ and Neapolis. This fact of the occupation of Nola by Greeks is sufficiently attested by the coins of that city, with the epigraph ΝΩΛΑΙΩΝ, and the vases and other monuments of Greek art discovered in its ruins.

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situated in an open plain, it was capable of being easily defended, from the strength of its walls and towers; and we know it resisted all the efforts of Hannibal, after the battle of Cannæ, under the able direction of Marcellus. (Liv. XXIII. 14. et seq. Cic. Brut. 3.)

> Campo Nola sedet, crebris circumdata in orbem
> Turribus, et celso facilem tutatur adiri
> Planitiem vallo. SIL. ITAL. XII. 162.

In the Social war this city fell into the hands of the confederates, and remained in their possession nearly till the conclusion of the war. It was then retaken by Sylla, and having been set on fire by the Samnite garrison, was burned to the ground. (Liv. Epit. LXXXIX. Appian. Civ. Bell. I. 42. Vell. Paterc. II. 18.) It must have risen, however, from its ruins, since subsequent writers reckon it amongst the cities of Campania, and Frontinus reports that it was colonized by Vespasian. (Plin. III. 5. Front. de Col.) Here Augustus breathed his last, as Tacitus and Suetonius remark, in the same house and chamber in which his father Octavius ended his days[k]. (Tacit. Ann. I. 5. and 9. Suet. Aug. 99.)

Somewhat to the north-east of Nola was Abella, the ruins of which are said still to exist on the site called *Avella Vecchia*[l]. This ancient town derives its only interest from the mention made of it by Virgil and Silius Italicus. Abella.

[k] On the antiquities of Nola, see the work of Ambrosio Leone, Hist. Nolan. in delectu Script. R. Neap. A remarkable inscription in Oscan characters relative to this town is explained by Lanzi, t. iii. p. 612. Its name is there written NUFLA.

[l] Capaccio, Hist. Neap. l. ii. Pratilli Via Appia, l. iv. c. 2.

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Et quos maliferæ despectant mœnia Abellæ.
ÆN. VII. 740.
Surrentum, et pauper sulci Cerealis Abella.
SIL. ITAL. VIII. 545.

(Cf. Justin. XX. Strab. V. 249. Plin. III. 5. Ptol. p. 66.)

Nuceria Alfaterna

About twelve miles south of Nola, *Nocera de' Pagani*, on the *Sarno*, represents the ancient Nuceria, to which the appellation of Alfaterna is commonly attached, to distinguish it from some other cities of the same name[m]. (Liv. X. 41. Diod. Sic. XIX. Plin. III. 5.) It is said to have been founded by the Pelasgi Sarrastes, who at an early period settled on the banks of the *Sarno*. (Conon ap. Serv. ad Æn. VII. 738.) Nuceria was besieged by Hannibal after his unsuccessful attack upon Nola; and on its being deserted by the inhabitants, he caused it to be sacked and burned. (Liv. XXIII. 15.)

Illic Nuceria, et Gaurus navalibus acta,
Prole Dicarchæa. SIL. ITAL. VIII. 533.
Tu quoque nudatam commissæ deseris arcem
Scipio Nuceriæ. LUCAN. II. 472.

We learn from Tacitus, that under the reign of Nero, Nuceria was restored and colonized. (Ann. XIII. 31. Cf. Appian. Civ. Bell. IV. 3. Strab. V. 249. Ptol. p. 66.)

These are all the Campanian cities of which ancient authors give us any account. Numismatic

[m] See vol. i. p. 93. and 267. This distinctive appellation appears also in the coins of the Campanian city, the Oscan legend of which is NUKRINUM ALAFATERNUM. Lanzi, t. iii. p. 599. Sestini Monet. Vet. p. 14.

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writers add to their number a town named Hyrina, as may be inferred from its numerous coins, with a great diversity of legends, in Oscan as well as Greek characters[n]. The similarity of these medals to those of Nola is the chief ground for classing this obscure place among the ancient sites of Campania[o].

South of Campania, properly so called, were the Picentini, who occupied an inconsiderable extent of territory from the promontory of Minerva to the mouth of the river Silarus. We are informed by Strabo that they were a portion of the inhabitants of Picenum, whom the Romans transplanted thither to people the shores of the gulf of Posidonia, or Pæstum. It is probable that their removal took place after the conquest of Picenum, and the complete subjugation of this portion of ancient Campania, then occupied by the Samnites[p]. According to the same writer, the Picentini were at a subsequent period compelled by the Romans to abandon the few towns which they possessed, and to reside in villages and hamlets, in consequence of having sided with Hannibal in the second Punic war. As a further punishment, they were excluded from military service, and allowed only to perform the duties of couriers and messengers. (Strab. V. 251. Plin. III. 5.) Picentini.

On the south side of the promontory of Surrentum, or Minerva, were three small rocks, detached from the land, and formerly celebrated as the islands Sirenusæ insulæ.

[n] Lanzi, t. iii. p. 606. Sestini Monet. Vet. p. 14.

[o] These coins are found in great numbers near the Sirens' Cape, and may therefore possibly belong to Surrentum. Romanelli ascribes them to Hyria, or Uria, near Tarentum, t. ii. p. 118.

[p] According to Cluverius, about the year 463 of Rome. Ital. Antiq. vol. ii. p. 1188. Pellegr. Camp. Disc. iv. p. 700.

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of the Sirens. (Strab. I. 22. and V. 247. Mel. II. 4. Plin. III. 5. Ptol. p. 66.)

> Jamque adeo scopulos Sirenum advecta subibat;
> Difficiles quondam, multorumque ossibus albos.
> ÆN. V. 864.
>
> . . . . . Hippotadæ regnum, terrasque calenti
> Sulfure fumantes, Acheloiadumque relinquit
> Sirenum scopulos: orbataque præside pinus
> Inarimen, Prochytenque legit.
> OVID. METAM. XIV. 86.

These rocks are now called *Galli*[q].

Marcina. Continuing along the coast we find Marcina, founded, as Strabo reports, by the Tuscans, but subsequently occupied by the Samnites. (V. 251.) No other ancient writer has made mention of this city, but Italian topographers agree with Cluverius in fixing its site at *Vietri*, in the bay of *Salerno*, and between that town and *Amalfi*[r]. It is observed by Strabo, that the distance across the isthmus between Marcina and Pompeii, through Nuceria, did not exceed 120 stadia, or 15 miles; but this statement is not found to agree with actual measurement, which furnishes 18 miles. An able antiquary supposes, therefore, some change to have taken place in the mouth of the Sarno, from the eruptions of Vesuvius, which may have caused the sea to recede from the coast[s].

Salernum. Salernum is said to have been built by the Romans as a check upon the Picentini. It was not therefore situated, like the modern town of *Saler-*

[q] Holsten. Adnot. p. 248. Romanelli, t. iii. p. 619.

[r] Ital. Ant. vol. ii. p. 1190. Fr. Grimaldi Ann. del Regno di Nap. t. iv. p. 198. Romanelli, t. iii. p. 614.

[s] Id. t. iii. p. 615. See also the French Strabo, note, p. 251.

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no, close to the sea, but on the height above, where considerable remains have been observed[t]. (Strab. V. 251. Plin. III. 5. Ptol. p. 66.) According to Livy, Salernum became a Roman colony seven years after the conclusion of the second Punic war. (XXXIV. 45. Vell. Paterc. I. 14. Appian. Civ. Bell. I. 42.)

Ille et pugnacis laudavit tela Salerni.
SIL. ITAL. VIII. 584.

Horace tells us, that the air of Salernum was recommended to him by his physician for a complaint in his eyes.

Quæ sit hiems Veliæ, quod cœlum, Vala, Salerni,
Quorum hominum regio, et qualis via? nam mihi Baias
Musa supervacuas Antonius: et tamen illis
Me facit invisum. EPIST. I. 15.

About seven miles beyond Salerno, *Vicenza*, or *Bicenza*, on the little river *Bicentino*, represents the ancient Picentia, once the capital of the Picentini. (Strab. V. 251. Mel. II. 4. Plin. III. 5. Flor. III. 18.) Picentia.

. . . . . nunc sese ostendere miles
Leucosiæ e scopulis, nunc quem Picentia Præsto
Misit. SIL. ITAL. VIII. 579.

Stephanus of Byzantium calls Picentia a Tyrrhenian city. (v. Πικεντία.)

Further inland was Eburi, mentioned only by Pliny, who erroneously assigns it to the Lucani. (III. 11.) It is now called *Eboli*. Eburi.

To the above mentioned towns of the Picentini some writers add Cosa, which is mentioned by Velleius Paterculus as being taken by Sylla's party during Cosa.

[t] Cluv. Ital. Ant. vol. ii. p. 1189. Romanelli, t. iii. p. 612.

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the Social war, together with Herculaneum and Pompeii; consequently it is inferred that it was in the vicinity of those towns. (Vell. Paterc. II. 16.) But the argument deduced from Livy, (XXVII. 10.) in favour of the existence of this place, seems very questionable; Livy surely there speaks of Cosa in Etruria, which was undoubtedly a Roman colony, and a maritime city of note. If the town in question had been a colony, it would have been mentioned by other authors. Antonini and Romanelli have placed this Campanian Cosa at *Conca*, near *Amalfi*[u].

ROMAN WAYS.

In the last section, the description of the Appian way was confined to that portion of it which traversed the Latin plains; we may therefore resume our statement of the stations and distances of this celebrated road from the borders of Campania, and carry it on to the limits of the Samnite territory. According to the Tabula Theodosiana, they are as follows:

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Sinuessa	*Mondragone*	
Pontem Campanum	*S. Giovanni*[x]	- III.
Urbanam	- - -	- III.
ad Nonum	- - -	- VI.
Casilinum	*Capoa moderna*	- VI.
Capuam	*S. Maria di Capoa*	- III.
Calatiam	*le Galazze* -	- VI.

[u] Pellegr. Camp. Disc. II. p. 323. Antonin. della Lucan, p. 1. disc. 6. in Not. Romanelli, t. iii. p. 616. I may observe, that Sestini ascribes to this town the coins with the epigraph COZA and COZANO, which others however assign to Cosa in Etruria, or Compsa of the Hirpini. Sestini Mon. Vet. p. 14.

[x] Holsten. Adnot. p. 252. In the Table the number of miles attached to this station is wanting.

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According to the Jerusalem Itinerary.

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Sinuessa	*Mondragone*	
Pontem Campanum	*S. Giovanni* - -	III.
ad Octavum	- - - -	IX.
Capuam	*S. Maria di Capoa* -	VIII.

The Latin way which we also left on the confines of Campania, in the last section, may be considered as falling into the Via Appia at Capua. The remaining stations of this road are arranged by the Itineraries in the order here subjoined.

Casino	*S. Germano*	
ad Flexum	*S. Pietro in fine*[y] -	VIII.
Venafrum	*Venafro* - -	VIII.
Teanum	*Teano* - -	XVIII.
Cales	*Calvi* - -	IV.
Casilinum	*Capoa moderna* -	VII.
Capuam	*S. Maria di Capoa* -	III.

The Appian and Latin ways were also connected by a cross road which branched off from the former at Minturnæ, and passing through Suessa Aurunca joined the Via Latina at Teanum. From inscriptions, we learn that it was called Via Hadriana, from having been constructed at the expense of that emperor[z].

Another great road followed the Campanian coast from Sinuessa to Surrentum, passing through Cumæ, Puteoli, and Neapolis; that portion of it lying between the first of these cities and Sinuessa, obtained the name of Via Domitiana from the emperor Domitian, who caused it to be constructed, as we are informed, by Statius[a]. In the Itinerary of Antoninus this route

[y] Holsten. Adnot. p. 254.
[z] Pratilli Via Appia, l. ii. c. 9.
[a] See p. 145. of this vol.

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is entitled "Iter a Terracina Neapolim," and it is divided as follows:

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Terracina	*Terracina*	
Sinuessam	*Mondragone*	XLIV.
Liternum	*Patria*	XIV.[b]
Cumas	*Cuma*	VI.
Puteolos	*Pozzuoli*	III.
Neapolim	*Napoli*	X.[c]

In the Tabula Theodosiana there is some difference in the distribution of the stages and distances, and the road is extended beyond Neapolis.

Sinuessa	*Mondragone*	
Sávonem fl.	*Savone*	III.[d]
Vulturnum	*Volturno*	VII.[e]
Liternum	*Patria*	VII.[f]
Cumas	*Cuma*	VI.
Lacum Avernum	*Lago d'Averno*	II.
Puteolos	*Pozzuoli*	III.
Neapolim	*Napoli*	X.
Herculaneum	*Ercolano*	VI.[g]
Oplontos	*Torre della Nunziata*	VI.
Pompeios	*Pompei*	III.
Stabias	*Castelamare*	III.
Surrentum	*Sorrento*	

The route which led from Capua to Cumæ is termed Via Consularis by Pliny; (XVIII. 11.) it is also sometimes called Via Campana. (Suet. Aug. 94.) One branch of it diverged to Puteoli[h].

[b] In the Itinerary this number is incorrectly written XXIV.

[c] If this distance is correct, it is plain that the road did not traverse the grotto of Posilypo, but ascended the hill in a circuitous direction.

[d] Corrected from VII. in the Table.

[e] Instead of XII.

[f] Instead of XII.

[g] The Table incorrectly marks XI.

[h] Pratilli Via Appia, l. ii. c. 8.

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Another road is laid down in the Table between Capua and Neapolis.

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Capua	*Capoa*	
Atellam	*S. Elpidio* - -	IX.
Neapolim	*Napoli* - -	IX.

From Capua also commenced a Roman way, which traversed a portion of Campania, the whole of Lucania and Bruttium, and terminated at Rhegium on the Sicilian Straits. (Strab. VI. 283.) A curious inscription[i], discovered at *Polla* in *Calabria*, informs us that this road was constructed by M. Aquilius Gallus, the proconsul, the same probably who is mentioned by Florus as having been prætor in Sicily. (III. 19.) In this inscription all the distances are reckoned, from the spot where it was fixed to each place or station on the road from Capua to Rhegium.

In the Itinerary of Antoninus this route is described under the title of " Iter ab urbe, Appia Via " recto itinere ad Columnam[k]." The distances are,

Capua		
Nolam	*Nola* - -	XVIII.[l]
Nuceriam	*Nocera* - -	XIV.[m]
In medio Salerni ad Tanarum fl.[n]	- - - -	XXV.

[i] See Romanelli, t. i. p. 296.

[k] The Columna, or, as it is sometimes called, Statua Rhegina, marked the narrowest point of the strait of *Messina* on the Italian side.

[l] Instead of XXI.

[m] The Itinerary marks XVI.

[n] There seems little doubt that for Tanarum we should read Silarum; in that case the two Itineraries will agree. D'Anville, Anal. Geogr. de l'Italie, p. 250.

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In the Table, however, we have a much greater detail of stations.

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Capua	*S. Maria di Capoa*	
Calatiam	*Galazze* - -	VI.
Suessulam	*Sessola* - -	III.
Nolam	*Nola* - -	IX.
ad Teglanum	*Palma* - -	V.
Nuceriam	*Nocera* - -	IX.
Salernum	*Salerno* - -	VIII.
Picentiam	*Bicenza* - -	VII.
Silarum fl.	*Sele* - -	IX.

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SECTION XI.

SAMNIUM.

Origin and history of the Samnites—Their subdivision into Caraceni, Pentri, and Hirpini—Topographical description of these several tribes—The Frentani—Roman Ways.

WHATEVER difference of opinion may prevail among the writers of antiquity, respecting the origin of other Italian tribes, they seem agreed in ascribing that of the Samnite nation to the Sabines. Strabo, who has entered at some length on this point of history, informs us, that the Sabines, in the course of a protracted warfare, in which they were engaged with the Umbri, pledged themselves, if fortune should crown their efforts with victory, to consecrate to the gods whatsoever should be produced in their country during the spring of that year. The war having terminated in their favour, they, in compliance with their vow, considered the youth born to them in that year as sacred to Mars, and sent them forth at a proper season to seek their fortune in another land. Tradition reported that this colony, having been miraculously guided in its march by a bull, arrived in the country of the Opici, where they settled, and obtained the name of Sabelli, which was considered to be indicative of their first origin. We are not informed whence they subsequently derived the appellation of Samnites, or Σαννῖται, as the Greeks wrote the word. (Strab. V. 250. Sisenn. Hist. IV. ap Non.

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de doct. ind. v. Ver. Sacrum. Varr. de Ling. Lat. VI. Fest. v. Samnites.) It is certain, however, that a portion of this people always retained the name of Sabelli. (Liv. VIII. 1. and X. 19. Varr. ap. Philarg. Georg. II. 167.)

> Hæc genus acre virûm Marsos, pubemque Sabellam,
> Assuetumque malo Ligurem, Volscosque verutos
> Extulit.

There were other traditions, which stated that the Samnites, as well as their ancestors the Sabines, had at one time received a Spartan colony, but these obtained little credit with judicious critics; and Strabo insinuates that this tale originated with the Tarentines, who sought to flatter a people whom fear and policy led them to conciliate. (Strab. V. 250.)

All that we can collect of the language of the Samnites, from historical records or existing monuments, certainly confirms the account of their descent from the Sabines. Livy assures us that they spoke the Oscan dialect; (X. 20.) and the inscriptions and coins found in their country exhibit the same characters as those of Campania, which are unquestionably Oscan; we know also that the latter language, though not the same as that of the Sabines, bore great affinity to it[o]. (Varr. Ling. Lat. VI.)

[o] A considerable analogy may be observed, I think, between the Sabine, Samnite, and Campanian names of individuals mentioned in history, while they are very distinct from those of the Romans and Latins; though they agree with them in the use of the prænomen. Varro seems to have considered the use of this appendage to the family name as posterior to the age of Romulus, because that king does not appear to have borne one. But we certainly find persons coeval with Romulus bearing two names; as for instance, Titus Tatius, Mettius Curtius, among the Sabines; Hostus Hostilius, Spurius Tarpeius, and Julius Proculus, among the Romans. Priscian says that the latter bor-

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Having already touched upon the history of the Samnites, in connexion with that of Campania, in the preceding section, it will not here be necessary to repeat the causes which involved this warlike and enterprising people in hostilities with the Romans. If we consider the extent of territory which the latter had acquired before the commencement of the war, it will be seen that whatever pretext led to this event, it could not have been long delayed. The Samnites were likewise an ambitious and rising nation, rendered confident by their successes over the Tuscans and the Oscans of Campania; and formidable not only from their own resources, but also from the ties of consanguinity, which connected them with the Frentani, Vestini, Peligni, and the other hardy tribes of central Italy. The rich and fertile territory of Campania was then the nominal object of the contest which ensued, but in reality they fought for the dominion of Italy, and consequently that of the world; which was at stake so long as the issue of the war was doubtful. Livy seems to have formed a just idea of the importance of that struggle, and the fierce obstinacy with which it was carried on, when he pauses in the midst of his narrative, in order to point out the unwearied constancy with which the Samnites, though so often defeated, renewed their efforts, if not for empire, at least for freedom and independence. (X. 32.) But when that historian recounts an endless succession of reverses sustained by this nation, attended with losses which must have quickly

rowed this usage from the Sabines. (II. 17.) But would it not be more correct to say that it was common to all the indigenous tribes of Italy, such as the Umbrians, Tuscans, Latins, and Oscans?

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drained a far greater population, it is impossible to avoid suspecting him of considerable exaggeration and repetition; especially as several campaigns are mentioned without a single distinct fact or topographical mark to give reality and an appearance of truth to the narrative. Nor is Livy always careful to point out the danger which not unfrequently threatened Rome on the part of these formidable adversaries. It is true that he relates with great beauty and force of description, the disaster which befell the Roman arms at the defiles of Caudium, but has he been equally explicit in laying before his readers the consequences of that event, which not only opened to the victorious Samnites the gates of several Volscian cities, but exposed a great portion of Latium to be ravaged by their troops, and brought them nearly to the gates of Rome? (Liv. IX. 12. Cf. Strab. V. 232. and 249.) In fact, though often attacked in their own territory, we as often find the Samnite legions opposed to their inveterate foes in Apulia, in the territories of the Volsci and Hernici, and even in those of the Umbrians and Etruscans. (Liv. X.) Admirably trained and disciplined, they executed the orders of their commanders with the greatest alacrity and promptitude, and such was the warlike spirit of the whole population, that they not unfrequently brought into the field 80,000 foot and 8000 horse. (Strab. V. 259.) A victory over such a foe might well deserve the honours of the triumph; and when the Romans had at length by repeated successes established their superiority, they could then justly lay claim to the title of the first troops in the world. But though the Samnites were often overmatched and finally curbed by the superior con-

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duct and power of the Romans, it is evident that the spirit of independence still breathed strong in their hearts, and waited but for an opportunity to display itself. Thus when Pyrrhus raised his standard in the plains of Apulia, the Samnite bands swelled his ranks, and seemed rather to strengthen the forces of that prince than to derive assistance from his army. Nor did they neglect the occasion which presented itself on the appearance of Hannibal in their country for shaking off the Roman yoke, but voluntarily offered to join him in the field against the common enemy. (Liv. XXIII. 42.)

Rome had already triumphed over Carthage, Macedon, and Antiochus, and was regarded as mistress of the world, when a greater danger than any she had before encountered threatened her dominion in Italy, and shook the very seat of her power. This was the breaking out of the Social war, which affords the most convincing proof that the Samnite people were not yet conquered. In that bloody contest, which, in the space of a few years, is said to have occasioned the loss of 300,000 lives, (Vell. Paterc. II. 15.) this people formed the chief strength and nerve of the coalition: such was their determined enmity against the Romans, that they even invited Mithridates, king of Pontus, to join his forces to those of the confederates in Italy. (Diod. Excerpt. XXXVII.) Even though deserted by their allies, and left to their own resources, they still continued in arms, till the fortune of Sylla and the Romans prevailed, and they ceased to exist as a nation. It was not till he had achieved the total destruction of the last Samnite army at the very gates of Rome, that Sylla at length felt assured of permanent suc-

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cess, and ventured to assume the title of Felix. His fear of the Samnite name, however, led him still further to persecute that unhappy people, thousands of whom were butchered at his command, and the rest proscribed and banished: he was said indeed to have declared that Rome would enjoy no rest so long as a number of Samnites could be collected together. (Strab. V. 249. Cf. Vell. Paterc. II. 27. Flor. III. 21. Liv. Epit. LXXXVIII. Plut. Syll.)

We may consider Samnium as bounded on the north by the territories of the Peligni and Frentani. To the west it bordered on the extremity of Latium and on Campania, being separated from the latter province by the Vulturnus, Mons Callicula, and the chain of mount Tifata. To the south a prolongation of the same ridge divided the Samnites from the Picentini and Lucani. To the east they were contiguous to Apulia, from the river Tifernus to the source of the Aufidus.

It is usual with geographers to regard the ancient Samnites as divided into three distinct tribes; the Caraceni, Pentri, and Hirpini[p]; to which others have added the Caudini and Frentani: but the former classification seems to rest on better authority[q], and may therefore be more safely adopted. The Caudini will be ranged with the Pentri, and the Frentani will be treated of as a distinct people from the Samnites at the end of this section.

Caraceni. The Caraceni appear to have been the least considerable of the three divisions above mentioned, being noticed only by Ptolemy (p. 66.) and Zonaras;

[p] Sigon. de Ant. Jur. Ital. I. 20. Ciarlanti Mem. del. Sann. I. 1. Grimald. Ann. del Regn. di Nap. Introd. c. 9.

[q] Micali l'Italia, &c. t. i. p. 185.

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(Ann. VIII. 7.) unless we admit, with Romanelli, that they are the same as the Carentini of Pliny, who divides them into the Supernates and Infernates. (III. 12.) The Italian writer above cited contends that the real name of this people was Saricini, which he derives from the river Sagrus, or Sarus, now *Sangro*, on whose banks they certainly dwelt[r]. The principal town of the Caraceni was Aufidena, now *Alfidena*. It is mentioned for the first time in Livy as having been taken by a Roman consul, A. U. C. 454. (Liv. X. 12.) We find it also noticed by Pliny, (III. 12.) and by Ptolemy, who ascribes it to the Caraceni. (p. 66.) Frontinus informs us that Aufidena was a military colony. Inscriptions speak of it as a municipal town[s]. Aufidena.

It was long a matter of great doubt with antiquaries and geographers, whether we could admit the existence of a city called Samnium, in the province of the same name, as the evidence of this fact rested only on an obscure passage of Florus, (I. 16.) and the still more uncertain testimony of Paulus Diaconus; (Rer. Lang. II. 20.) but it seemed to acquire additional confirmation from an inscription discovered in the tomb of the Scipios, in which the name of Samnium occurs as that of a town taken by Scipio Barbatus[t]; nor can further evidence be required on this point, after the proofs adduced by Romanelli from old ecclesiastical chronicles, which speak of a town named Samnia, or Samne, as having stood on the site now called *Cerro*, near the source of the Vulturnus[u]. Samnium.

[r] Romanelli, t. ii. p. 483 and 491.

[s] Romanelli, t. ii. p. 486.

[t] Lanzi Saggio di Ling. Etrusc. p. i. p. 150. Romanelli, t. ii. p. 488.

[u] Id. t. ii. p. 491.

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Near the *Sangro*, and on the site of the fortress, which takes its name from that river, we may place the Castellum Caracenorum, which, according to Zonaras, served as a refuge for banditti, until it was stormed by the Romans, who, on this occasion, are said to have acquired so rich a booty, that they began from that time to coin silver drachmæ. (Zonar. Annal. VIII. 7.)

Castellum Caracenorum.

It has been also disputed whether there were not two cities named Aquilonia in the territory of the Samnites. One is undoubtedly recognised in the modern *Lancedogna*, on the confines of Apulia; but from some circumstances mentioned by Livy relative to a city of this name, we are led to infer that there was also a second in a different part of the province. The Roman historian, after giving a full account of the remarkable and solemn ceremonies of adjuration observed by the Samnite army, when a mighty effort was to be made against the Romans, informs us, that the consecrated legions assembled at Aquilonia, where they remained encamped. Meantime one of the Roman consuls had already entered the territory of the Volsci, and was besieging Cominium, a town which we had occasion to notice in the description of Latium[x], and which Livy states to have been about twenty miles distant from Aquilonia; while the other consul advanced against the latter place, and encountering there the main Samnite army, after a desperate conflict, succeeded in defeating it with great slaughter. Aquilonia and the Samnite camp, on this occasion, fell into the hands of the victors. A part only of the defeated army succeeded

Aquilonia.

[x] Vol. ii. p. 116.

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in reaching the town of Bovianum, situated, as we shall see, at no great distance from the field of battle. (Liv. X. 38. et seq.) It appears then from the narrative of the Roman historian, that we must look for the site of Aquilonia on the Volscian frontier of Samnium, about twenty miles from Cominium, and the same distance from Bovianum. These circumstances seem to combine in pointing out the little town of *Agnone*, near the source of the *Trigno*, as corresponding with the Aquilonia, to which our attention is at present directed[y].

We must now pass on to examine that part of Samnium which more properly belonged to the Samnites Pentri, whose chief town, as Livy informs us, was Bovianum. This historian describes it as a most opulent and important place; the consequence attached by the Romans to its possession is also evinced by the repeated efforts they made to conquer it. (Liv. IX. 28. 31. and 44.) In the Social war it became one of the strongest holds of the confederates, after Corfinium had been abandoned. (App. Bell. Civ. I. 51.) Having been taken by Sylla, it was retaken by Silo Pompædius, general of the Marsi. (Jul. Obs. de Prod.) Nothing of its former importance remained in the time of Strabo, who describes it as ruinous and deserted. (V. 249.) Frontinus (de Col.) informs us, that Bovianum became a military colony under Cæsar. Pliny distinguishes between the old town and one more modern, which he styles "Colonia cognomine Undecumanorum." (III. 12. Ptol. p. 66.)

Pentri. Bovianum.

[y] Romanelli, t. ii. p. 497. This appears also to have been the opinion of the early Italian antiquaries, such as Biondo, Leandro Alberti, Merula, and Ligorio.

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It is supposed that Bovianum, from its situation among lofty mountains, was deprived of the light of the sun during some of the winter months[z]. Silius Italicus seems to allude to this circumstance, when he says,

> Qui Batulum, Mucrasque colunt, Boviania quique
> Exercent lustra. VIII. 566.

The more obvious sense of the word *lustra* would however suit the passage equally well. The ancient city is allowed to have stood near the present town of *Boiano*[a].

Æsernia. About twelve miles north-west of Bovianum, *Isernia* doubtless represents the ancient Æsernia, said to have been colonized about the beginning of the first Punic war. (Liv. Epit. XVI. Vell. Paterc. I. 14.) It is mentioned by Livy as one of those colonies which distinguished themselves by their firm adherence to the Roman power during the war with Hannibal. (XXVII. 10.) In the Social war it fell into the hands of the allies. (App. Bell. Civ. I. 41. Liv. Epit. LXXII. and LXXIII.) Æsernia subsequently was recolonized by Augustus and Nero; (Front. de Col.) but Strabo speaks of it as a very inconsiderable place, having suffered materially in the Marsic war[b]. (V. 239. and 249. Ptol. p. 66.)

Duronia. An obscure city, mentioned by Livy under the name of Duronia, as having been captured from the Samnites by the Romans, (X. 39.) is placed by the Neapolitan topographers at *Civita Vecchia*, north-

[z] Holsten. Adnot. p. 265.

[a] Romanelli, t. ii. p. 441.

[b] The coins of Æsernia bear on the reverse Jupiter standing in a car drawn by two horses, under which is the legend AISERNINO. Sestini Monet. Vet. p. 13. Romanelli, t. ii. p. 468.

east of *Isernia*, and on a small stream which forms one of the principal sources of the *Trigno;* it is said still to retain the name of *Durone*[c].

Lower down on the *Trigno* stood Treventum, now *Trivento*, mentioned by Frontinus as a Roman colony. Pliny also speaks of the Treventinates. (III. 12.) Several inscriptions attest the municipal rank of this town[d]. Treventum.

Maronea, another Samnite town, taken by Marcellus, in the second Punic war, together with some considerable magazines deposited there by Hannibal, (Liv. XXVII. 1.) is to be placed at *Campo Marano*, north of *Trivento*, and on the right bank of the *Trigno*[e]. Maronea.

In the account of the Samnite wars, as given by Livy, we read of a mountain and town named Tifernum, and we know that the river now called *Biferno*, was anciently called Tifernus. (Liv. IX. 44. X. 14. and 30.) Combining these circumstances, the most approved Italian antiquaries have placed the town of Tifernum near the *Ponte di Limosano*, on the right bank of the *Biferno*, and the Mons Tifernus at the source of that river above *Boiano*. This part of the Apennines is now called *Monte Matese*[f]. Tifernum. Tifernus Mons.

South-east of Bovianum was Sepinum, a town of some note, taken by the Romans under Papirius Cursor, A. U. C. 459. (Liv. X. 45.) It became a colony under the reign of Nero. (Front. de Col. Ptol. p. 66.) Several inscriptions lead us to con- Sepinum.

[c] Galanti descr. delle Sicil. l. ix. c. 4. Romanelli, t. ii. p. 472.

[d] Lanzi ascribes to this town a coin with the legend TREBINTIM, in Oscan characters, which he reads Treventiorum. p. iii. p. 603. Galanti descr. delle Sicil. l. ix. c. 4.

[e] Galanti loc. cit. Romanelli, t. ii. p. 476.

[f] Romanelli, t. ii. p. 477. et seq.

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clude that it was also a municipium[g]. The site of this ancient city answers properly to that which is now called *Attilia*, about two miles from the modern *Sepino*[h].

The continual state of warfare, to which the country of the Samnites was so long exposed, produced natural effects on many of the ancient towns cited in the annals of Rome, but of which no vestige can now be traced with certainty. Of these, Mucræ, mentioned by Silius Italicus,

Mucræ.

> Qui Batulum, Mucrasque colunt, Boviania quique
> Exercent lustra. VIII. 566.

may with some degree of probability be placed at *Morcone*, south of *Sepino*[i].

Batulum.

Batulum, referred to in the same passage of Silius, and also by Virgil,

> Quique Rufras, Batulumque tenent atque arva Celennæ.
> ÆN. VII. 739.

is fixed with some diffidence by Romanelli at *Paduli*, a few miles to the east of *Benevento*[k].

Celenna.

We have no other authority for the existence of Celenna than the line of Virgil just quoted; its situation must therefore remain altogether a matter of conjecture.

Rufræ, named in the same passage, and also by Silius Italicus,

> Et quos aut Rufræ, quos aut Æsernia, quosve
> Obscura incultis Herdonia misit ab agris.
> VIII. 568.

[g] Muratori Thes. Inscript. VIII. p. 606.
[h] Romanelli, t. ii. p. 446.
[i] Romanelli, t. ii. p. 444.
[k] Id. t. ii. p. 463.

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may possibly be the same town which Livy notices under the name of Ruffrium. (VIII. 25.) Holstenius, however, and other writers on the ancient geography of Italy, have recognised two different towns under these names. He places the Rufræ of Virgil at *Presenzano*[l], in the vicinity of *Tiano*, and consequently in the territory of the ancient Sidicini; but it can hardly be supposed that the poet, having already enumerated the Sidicini in his catalogue, would afterwards recall our attention to an obscure place in their territory, when describing a very different part of Campania. For the same reason I would not, with Romanelli, fix the site of Rufræ at *S. Angelo Raviscanino*, south of *Venafri*[m], though the ruins said to exist there may mark the position of Ruffrium, which was probably not far removed from *Allife*. Ruffrium.

This latter place unquestionably represents the ancient city of Allifæ, the name of which often occurs in Livy. It was taken, according to that historian, by the consul C. Petilius, together with Ruffrium and Callifæ, A. U. C. 429; (VIII. 25.) and again by C. Marcius Rutilius. (Liv. IX. 38. Cf. Diod. Sic. XX.) Allifæ.

> Illic Parthenope, ac Pœno non pervia Nola,
> Allifæ, et Clanio contemptæ semper Acerræ.
> SIL. ITAL. VIII. 536.

Allifæ is also noticed by Strabo as being in existence in his time. (V. 249. Plin. III. 12. Ptol. p. 66.) Frontinus reports that it was colonized under the triumvirs[n]. (de Col.)

[l] Adnot. p. 270.
[m] Romanelli, t. ii. p. 463.
[n] There is extant a coin with the legend ΑΛΑΙΦΑΝΩΝ, which naturally seems to belong to Allifæ, though in that case we should have expected Oscan rather than Greek characters.

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Callifæ. Callifæ, an obscure city of the Samnites, mentioned only by Livy in the passage already cited, was placed by Cluverius at *Carife*, a village about twenty miles east of *Benevento*[o]; but it was observed by other antiquaries, that the mention of Ruffrium and Allifæ, both said to have been captured by the Romans at the same time, lead us to infer that this town could have been at no great distance from the other two; and this reflection has induced a local antiquary, who is followed by Romanelli, to fix the site of Callifæ at *Calvisi*, about five miles to the south-east of *Alife*, where it is said several indications of an ancient town may be traced[p].

Compulteria. Towards the frontier of Campania, and at the foot of mount Callicula, was Compulteria, a Samnite town, noticed also in one passage only of Livy, and by no other writer. He enumerates it among the places which had revolted to Hannibal, but were retaken by Fabius Maximus. (XXIV. 20.) Cluverius professed himself entirely ignorant of the situation of this town; but the Campanian topographers, with Holstenius, have traced the ancient name in that of *Cultere*, a little village near *Alvignano*, in the diocese of *Cajazzo*[q]. Here too monuments and inscriptions have been discovered, which leave no doubt of the identity of this site[r].

Many Italian cities, however, which could have no pretensions to a Greek origin, appear to have used in their medals the letters peculiar to that language. Sestini Monet. Vet. p. 13. For a description of the numerous antiquities existing at *Alife*, see Trutta Diss. sopr. le Antich. Alif.

[o] Ital. Ant. vol. ii. p. 1200.

[p] Trutta Op. cit. Romanelli, t. ii. p. 458.

[q] Pellegr. Disc. Camp. II. p. 412. Pratilli, l. iii. c. 3. Holsten. Adnot. p. 270. Trutta Ant. Alif. Diss. 22. Romanelli, t. ii. p. 434.

[r] From some rare coins published by Sestini, for the first

To the south of Compulteria, *Cajazzo* doubtless represents Calatia of the Samnites, or Caiatia, as it should perhaps be written[s]. Mention was made of this town when describing the Campanian Calatia; and it was then remarked how much these two places had been confounded. I shall here refer the reader to those passages in Livy which refer to the Calatia now under consideration. In the first that occurs, (IX. 43.) he mentions Calatia and Sora as taken by the Samnites from the Romans. The next is where he describes the entrance of Hannibal into Campania, through the territory of Allifæ, Calatia, and Cales; (XXII. 13.) and in the third, (XXIII. 14.) he gives an account of the military operations of Marcellus, in order to succour Nola, which was threatened by Hannibal. The Roman general was then stationed at Casilinum, and having formed his plan, moved from that place to Calatia, whence he crossed the Vulturnus, and proceeded through the lands of Saticula and Trebia[t] to Suessula, in the neighbourhood of Nola. Calatia.

To the east of Calatia was Telesia, the ruins of Telesia.

time, it appears that the Oscan name of this town was Cupelteria. These have on the obverse a head of Apollo crowned with laurel, on the reverse an ox with a human head crowned by victory, with the epigraph KUPELTERNUM, in Oscan characters. Sestini, p. 14.

[s] It is certain that several inscriptions speak of the Municipium Caiatinum, and the Tabula Theodosiana writes it Gahatia. The conjecture is further strengthened by the coins with the epigraph CAIATINO, and lastly by the modern name of *Cajazzo*. Pellegr. Camp. Disc. II. 30. Pratilli, l. iii. c. 4. Romanelli, t. ii. p. 432.

[t] Some critics read "Trebu-"lanum;" but that town, together with its territory, was situated, as we have seen, on the right bank of the Vulturnus; we must therefore either admit a Campanian town named Trebia, or read Trebellicum. See p. 206.

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which are to be seen about a mile from the modern *Telese*. Livy informs us, that this town was taken by Hannibal on his first march through Samnium. (XXII. 13.) In Polybius it is probable we should read Τελεσίαν for Οὐενουσίαν, as Venusia would be very remote from the Carthaginian general's route. (III. 90.) Telesia was afterwards retaken by Fabius. (Liv. XXIV. 20.) It became a colony in the time of the triumviri. (Front. de Col.) I know not on what authority Romanelli asserts that Telesia was the native city of C. Pontius, the famous Samnite general, and his father Herennius[u]; it doubtless was the birthplace of C. Pontius Telesinus, who fought against Sylla. (Vell. Paterc. II. 28.)

Cominium Ceritum.

Cominium Ceritum, noticed by Livy as a town in the neighbourhood of Beneventum, (XXV. 14.) is now *Cereto*, a few miles to the north-west of *Telese*.

On crossing the Vulturnus we enter into that part of the Samnite territory which perhaps belonged properly to the Caudine Samnites, where we shall also have to notice several small towns, of which

Melæ.

mention occurs only in Livy. Of these, Melæ, said to have been taken by Fabius, together with Orbitanium and other towns, (Liv. XXIV. 20.) is placed by Holstenius at *Melito*, or *Molise*[x], but by native antiquaries, whose judgment is more to be depended upon, at *Melissano*, near *S. Agata dei Goti*[y]. It is uncertain whether Melæ is to be considered the

Meles.

same as Meles, conquered afterwards by Marcellus, with Maronea. (Liv. XXVII. 1.) I should conceive it to be different, because Maronea was quite in

[u] Romanelli, t. ii. p. 426.
[x] Adnot. p. 270.
[y] Trutt. Diss. Ant. Alif. 18. Romanelli, t. ii. p. 416.

another part of Samnium, and we do not hear of Melæ having revolted a second time [z].

Orbitanium is supposed with still less certainty to answer to the site of *Ducenta* in the same vicinity [a]. Orbitanium.

Plistia, mentioned by Livy in the course of the Samnite war, may be *Presta*, about four miles from *S. Agata dei Goti* [b]. The latter site is with probability conceived to represent the ancient Saticula, a town of greater note than those which have been lately noticed. Its antiquity is attested by Virgil, in the catalogue of the allies of Turnus. Plistia. Saticula.

> . . . . . vertunt felicia Baccho
> Massica qui rastris: et quos de collibus altis
> Aurunci misere patres: Sidicinaque juxta
> Æquora; quique Cales linquunt; amnisque vadosi
> Accola Volturni, pariterque Saticulus asper,
> Oscorumque manus. — ÆN. VII. 725.

It is doubtful whether Saticula was originally a Samnite or a Campanian town. Livy speaks of it in the first instance, as only allied to the former nation; (IX. 21.) but elsewhere he distinctly places it in Samnium. (VII. 32.) In this he agrees with Festus, who informs us, that it was colonized by the Romans under the consuls Papirius Cursor and C. Junius. (Cf. Vell. Paterc. I. 14. Diod. Sic. XIX. Steph. Byz.) The site of this city has not been precisely determined. It seems however evident from Livy, (XXIII. 14.) that we must seek for it among the mountains south of the *Volturno*, and on the bor-

[z] A very rare coin with the epigraph MALIESA in Oscan characters, and a dye similar to that of other Samnite medals, belongs probably to Melæ. Sestini, Monet. Vet. p. 13.

[a] Romanelli, t. ii. p. .

[b] Id. t. ii. p. 419.

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ders of Campania. Pellegrini inclines to *Limatola*[c], but a more modern topographer asserts that no ruins are visible there; whereas there are numerous remains about *S. Agata dei Goti*, whose situation in other respects accords with the description of the Roman historian[d].

S. Agata dei Goti stands at the entrance of a valley, which Cluverius imagines to have been the scene of the disaster which befell the Roman arms in the Samnite war, I mean the celebrated convention of the Caudine Forks. On this point, however, he has not been followed by the best informed and most judicious of the Italian topographers, such as Pellegrini, Pratilli, Daniele, and Romanelli, to whom we may add Holstenius and D'Anville, who have corrected some important errors, into which the geographer above mentioned had inadvertently fallen. These have all concurred in placing the Caudine defiles in the valley of *Arpaia*, between *Arienzo* and *Benevento*[e]. And the arguments by which they enforce their opinion would be conclusive, could the spot they fix upon be reconciled with Livy's description of the defiles in which the Roman army was entrapped and submitted to the ignominy of being passed under the yoke.

This incongruity has particularly struck some intelligent travellers[f], who have examined the ground,

[c] Pellegr. Camp. Disc. II. c. 28.

[d] Pratilli, t. iii. c. 6. Romanelli, t. ii. p. 414.

[e] Pellegr. Camp. Disc. II. Pratilli Via Appia, l. iii. c. 6. Daniele le Forche Caudine illustrate. Holsten. Adnot. p. 268. D'Anville, Anal. Geogr. de l'Ital. p. 216. Romanelli, t. ii. p. 293.

[f] Mr. Eustace in his Classical Tour, vol. iii. p. 88. and Mr. Craven in his Tour through the southern provinces of the

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with Livy in their hand, and have returned convinced that the valley of *Arpaia* could not be identified with the Furculæ Caudinæ, and consequently that the opinion of Cluverius was to be preferred. A writer, who appears to have paid particular attention to this point, and to be perfectly acquainted with the ancient topography of this part of Italy, has presented us with a sketch of the Caudine district, illustrative of a short dissertation, in which he ingeniously advocates the opinion of Cluverius[g].

The question is evidently one of some intricacy; but it is worthy of our notice, both as relating to a very memorable event in the history of Rome, and as tending to illustrate the ancient topography of this part of Italy. Before I enter upon this discussion, I would however make one observation, which is, that although it be proved that the valley of *Arpaia* does not answer to Livy's description, and that the defiles of *S. Agata* and *Airola* fully agree with it, still that circumstance will not be sufficient to decide the point. If Livy was an author whose precision in matters appertaining to topography was unquestionable, then we might fairly refer the decision of the two opinions to a comparison with his description. But when we reflect that this writer is notoriously inaccurate in point of detail, and that he is always more intent upon effect and elegance of style than matters of fact, we must take other considerations into the question, and not form our judg-

kingdom of Naples. Eustace was not aware of the errors committed by Cluverius, and has therefore copied his mistakes.

[g] This dissertation, of which Mr. Gandy is the author, is annexed to Mr. Craven's Tour.

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ment merely from his account of the Caudine defiles, but from a review of his whole narrative, including both the events previous to, and those which are said to have followed the surrender of the Roman troops. Livy informs us, in the opening of his ninth book, that war having been declared, the Samnite general, C. Pontius, drew his forces together at Caudium, (between *Arpaia* and *Montesarchio*,) and encamped in the vicinity of that town; using every precaution to keep his movements secret from the enemy, who he was apprised had already advanced to Calatia, where they had taken up a position. Having formed his plan, the Samnite leader, as Livy goes on to relate, sends forward ten of his soldiers disguised as shepherds, with orders to feed their flocks near the Roman outposts, and should they fall in with any of their parties, to spread the report that the Samnite legions were engaged in the siege of Luceria in Apulia, and that the place was on the point of surrendering. On the receipt of this false intelligence, the Roman consuls determine to advance to the relief of Luceria; and in order to effect this object the sooner, they take the short road into Apulia by the Caudine Forks, which the historian describes as a passage between high and woody mountains, enclosed at both extremities, but having in the middle a grassy plain of some extent, and watered. Here they are hemmed in by the Samnites, and are compelled to submit, together with their troops, to the disgraceful conditions imposed upon them. It is afterwards stated that the Romans, on being released, retired towards Capua, not more than a day's march distant, and in the vicinity of which they arrived about night

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fall. This is then the narrative from which, with the assistance of the map, we are to form our judgment on this disputed point.

It will be evident, that the first thing to be considered is the position of the Roman army before it was enclosed in the fatal defile. We are told that it was encamped at Calatia; and the reader, who is now acquainted with both towns of this name, will observe of what importance it is to distinguish rightly on this occasion to which of them Livy's narrative refers. Indeed I consider this point of such consequence, that the whole question appears to hinge upon it. I imagine also that it can be most satisfactorily proved, that the Roman army was stationed at the southern Calatia, now *le Gallazze*, about six miles from Capua, on the road which became afterwards the great Appian way.

The principal reasons which point out the Campanian Calatia as the position of the Roman army are briefly these. We must suppose that the two armies were near each other, in order to give the stratagem of the Samnite general a chance of success, when he sent his pretended shepherds with their flocks towards the Roman outposts; as this plan could hardly have been carried into effect, if their destination was Calatia, on the right bank of the Vulturnus, as they would have had to cross that river together with their sheep. 2dly, If we admit the Campanian Calatia to be the head quarters of the consuls, we can well understand that the Caudine defiles would be their shortest way to reach Luceria; whereas, if they had been stationed at Calatia, on the other side of the Vulturnus, their route would lie necessarily along that river to Beneventum without crossing it,

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and adventuring themselves unnecessarily in the pass of *S. Agata.* 3dly, Had they really proceeded from this Calatia, Livy would hardly have omitted to mention the circumstance of their crossing the Vulturnus, as he does on other occasions[h]. The author of the little dissertation before noticed, has advanced a reason for supposing that this last mentioned town was the station of the Romans, which I apprehend is not well founded. He observes, that in the campaign immediately preceding that of the Caudine reverse, the Romans had conquered the towns of Allifæ, Callifæ, and Rufrium, which were all situated in the vicinity of Calatia, and therefore that it was natural to suppose that in the following campaign they would resume their operations from that point.

The argument is specious, but, as I conceive, not valid; for it will be seen, on referring to Livy, that the campaign in which the abovementioned towns were taken, preceded that with which we are at present concerned three or four years, during which several other invasions, both of Samnium and Apulia, intervened. But it may be observed with regard to all the early Roman wars, that no regular plan of hostilities seems ever to have been thought of. The consuls marched their troops wherever they heard the enemy was to be met with, ravaging the country, and taking such places as lay in their way, or the spoil of which afforded sufficient temptation to hazard a siege. In their invasions of Samnium, the

[h] As in the case of the expedition undertaken by Marcellus to relieve Nola. (Liv. XXIII. 14.) We hear in Livy of a remarkable defile near Saticula, in which a Roman army was very nearly placed in a similar situation to that of the Caudine Forks, but was extricated by the conduct of Decius. (Liv. VII. 34.) May not this have been the valley of the *Isclero?*

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operations of the Romans, if we may judge from Livy, seem to have been unusually desultory, and resemble more the predatory incursions of a horde of banditti scouring a country, than the systematic warfare, which supposes a plan of attack, as well as of defence.

Upon the whole then, there appear to be sufficient grounds for fixing upon the southern Calatia as the point from which the Romans entered Samnium; and if that is admitted, it must follow that the valley of *Arpaia* represents the Furcæ Caudinæ, a circumstance which is further strongly confirmed by the name of Furclæ, which this valley is known to have borne in the middle ages, and which is still preserved in that of the little village now called *Forchie*. Nor do I think it difficult to account for the change of aspect which this tract of country has undergone, from that which Livy's description presents to the conception of his readers. In the first place, it is not improbable that the historian has magnified the difficulties of the situation in which the Romans were placed, to account in some measure for their disgraceful surrender. We might indeed be almost led to suppose, that the events under examination did not take place exactly as he describes, from Cicero's alluding to this disaster of the Romans in the terms "prælium Caudinum." (de Senect. 12.) What further alterations may have been made in the appearance of the country during such a lapse of ages, I cannot pretend to examine. The construction of the Appian way would possibly contribute to effect some difference, both from draining the low grounds and from cutting down woods, and clearing away other obstructions. But I must again observe that a close

Furcæ Caudinæ.

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resemblance to Livy's description is not to be looked for, it is sufficient for us to know that there is some difficult country between *Arienzo* and *Montesarchio*, in which an army might be surprised and attacked with considerable advantage. Polybius indeed describes all the passes from Samnium into Campania as narrow and of difficult access; and though he does not expressly name that which led through the Caudine valley, it is evidently the first of those which he notices. (III. 91.) These straits are more generally termed Furcæ, or Furculæ, but sometimes also Fauces Caudinæ.

> . . . . . Romanaque Samnis
> Ultra Caudinas speravit vulnera Furcas.
> LUCAN. II. 137.
>
> Pinguis item Capua, et Caudinis faucibus horti.
> COLUM. X.
>
> Qui Batulum, Mucrasque metunt, Boviania quique
> Exagitant lustra, aut Caudinis faucibus hærent.
> SIL. ITAL. VIII. 566.

I may conclude these observations by stating, that, according to the best topographers, we must place the first defile mentioned by Livy at the *Stretto d'Arpaia*, and the second at the *Stretto di Sferra cavallo*; the intermediate open space is now called *Val Gardana*[1].

Caudium. The position of Caudium, which gave its name to the celebrated defile that has been the subject of this long discussion, is not perfectly agreed upon by antiquaries; most of them indeed place it, with Holstenius, who examined the whole of this tract with great

[1] Romanelli, t. ii. 405.

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accuracy at *Arpaia*[k]. But D'Anville observes, that the best maps allow only thirteen miles between the ancient Capua and *Arpaia*, whereas the Itineraries concur in stating the distance between Capua and Caudium to be twenty-one miles, which are equivalent to seventeen or eighteen of modern measurement, and he would therefore place the latter site a few miles further towards *Benevento*[l]. All the Italian antiquaries, however, reckon sixteen miles between *Arpaia* and Capua[m]; but even in that case *Arpaia* would not exactly answer to the position of Caudium, which, according to the Itineraries, was certainly two miles nearer to *Beneventum*. It would be more accurate therefore to fix it at *Paolisi*, or *Cervinara*.

Caudium is noticed by Strabo as a station on the Via Appia. (V. 248.) This fact is also confirmed by Horace, who, in his journey to Brundusium, informs us that he was entertained at the villa of his friend Cocceius, close to this town[n].

> Hinc muli Capuæ clitellas tempore ponunt.
> Hinc nos Cocceii recipit plenissima villa,
> Quæ super est Caudi cauponas. I. SAT. 5.

Among the mountains which form the passes of Arpaia and *Montesarchio*, we must distinguish the Taburnus, which rises to the east of *S. Agata dei Goti*. This lofty mountain, still called *Taburno*, or *Tabor*, derives celebrity from Virgil. Taburnus Mons.

[k] Adnot. p. 267.

[l] Anal. Geogr. de l'Italie, p. 214.

[m] Pratilli, Via Appia, l. iii. c. 6. Romanelli, t. ii. p. 398.

[n] Various inscriptions have been found near *Montesarchio*, in which mention is made of several persons belonging to the family of Cocceius. Pratilli, Via Appia, l. iii. c. 6.

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> Ac velut, ingenti Sila, summove Taburno,
> Cum duo conversis inimica in prœlia tauri
> Frontibus incurrunt. ÆN. XII. 715.

> Neu segnes jaceant terræ. Juvat Ismara Baccho
> Conserere, atque olea magnum vestire Taburnum.
> GEORG. II. 307.

And is also mentioned by the poet Gratius.

> Scilicet et Parthis inter sua mollia rura
> Mansit honor: veniat Caudini in saxa Taburni,
> Garganumve trucem, aut Ligurinas desuper Alpes:
> Ante opus excussis cadet unguibus.

Maleventum postea Beneventum.

About ten miles beyond Caudium, on the Appian way, (Strab. V. 249.) was Beneventum, whose more ancient name, as we are informed by several writers, was Maleventum. (Liv. IX. 27. Plin. III. 11. Fest. v. Benevent.) Tradition ascribed the foundation of this city to Diomed; (Solin. c. 8. Steph. Byz.) but other accounts would lead us to believe that it was first possessed by the Ausones°. (Fest. v. Auson.) Beneventum probably obtained its second name upon becoming a Roman colony, A. U. C. 483. (Liv. Epist. XV. Vell. Paterc. I. 14.) It remained in the possession of the Romans during the whole of the second Punic war, and obtained the thanks of the senate for its firm attachment to the republic at that critical period. (Liv. XXVII. 10.) We subsequently hear of its being colonized by the veteran soldiers of Augustus, and also a third time under Nero. (Front. de Col. Cf. Tacit. Ann. XV. 34. Ptol. p. 66.) The account which Horace gives of the fare

° The coins of Beneventum bear on the obverse a head of Apollo, with the Oscan legend BENEVENTOD; on the reverse a horse at speed. De Vita Antiq. Benev. Dissert. Sestini, Monet. Vet. p. 13.

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he there met with on his journey to Brundusium will occur to every reader.

> Tendimus hinc recta Beneventum; ubi sedulus hospes
> Pene, macros, arsit, turdos dum versat in igne:
> Nam vaga per veterem dilapso flamma culinam
> Vulcano, summum properabat lambere tectum.
> Convivas avidos cœnam, servosque timentes
> Tum rapere, atque omnes restinguere velle videres.
>
> I. Sat. 5.

Beneventum was situated near the junction of the Sabatus and Calor, now *Sabbato* and *Calore*. It may be observed, that Livy adverts to the first of these rivers when he enumerates the Sabatini among the people of Campania, who revolted to Hannibal. (Liv. XXVI. 30.) Cluverius inferred from thence, that there must have been a town named Sabatium somewhere on its banks, probably between *Terra nova* and *Prato*[p]. This conjecture is approved by Romanelli; who reports that there are in fact some considerable ruins on a hill in that vicinity[q]. Mention of the Calor occurs in Livy, (XXIV. 14.) and Appian. (Han. 36.)

Sabatus fl.

Sabata vel Sabatium.

Calor fl.

There are yet to be disposed of a few obscure towns in this part of Samnium, respecting the sites of which we can derive no certain or even probable information from the most diligent antiquaries. These are, Pauna, mentioned by Strabo; (V. 250.) Cimetra, Volana, Palumbinum, and Herculaneum, named by Livy. (X. 5. and 45.) The latter is supposed by Romanelli to answer to the site of *Montesarchio*, said to be a corruption of Mons Herculis[r]: but if this had been the case, we should have found some

Volana, Palumbinum, Pauna, Cimetra, Herculaneum.

[p] Ital. Ant. II. p.
[q] Romanelli, t. ii. p. 314.
[r] Id. t. ii. p. 389.

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indication of this town in the Itineraries. Some trace of such a name appears indeed in the Table, under the corrupt form of Herculrani, but certainly not on the Appian way, and no mark of distance is affixed to guide us in search of its position[s].

Italium. Italium is another unknown town, mentioned only by Diodorus Sic. (XX.) Perhaps it is the same place which Livy calls Imbrinium. (VIII. 30.)

Murgantia. Murgantia was also classed among the Samnite cities, to which no position had been assigned till the discovery of an inscription, not many years ago, at *Baselice*, near the source of the river *Fortore*. *Baselice* itself seems to be a corruption of the word Basilica, as the inscription records the thanks of the people and magistrates of Murgantia to Pertinax for the erection of such a building[t]. Murgantia is mentioned by Livy as a strong town, but it was taken by the Romans in one day. (X. 17.) Stephanus Byz. calls it Μοργέντιον[u].

HIRPINI.

We have now to speak of the Hirpini, who, though comprehended under the general denomination of Samnites, seem to have formed a distinct people. (Liv. XXII. 13. and XXIII. 43.) Their name was said to be derived from the word Hirpus, which in the Samnite dialect signified *a wolf*.

Abellinum. Among the cities ascribed to the Hirpini, we may point out Abellinum, now *Abellino*, in the mountains which separated this people from the Picentini. Its inhabitants are distinguished from those of another

[s] Holsten. Adnot. p. 270.
[t] Romanelli, t. ii. p. 481.
[u] The Oscan name is MUR-TANTIA, as we learn from the very scarce coins of this city. Lanzi, p. iii. p. 601. Sestini, Monet. Vet. p. 13.

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Abellinum, which belonged to Lucania, by the appellation of Abellinates Protropi. (Plin. III. 11. Ptol. p. 67.) According to Frontinus it became a colony, though he does not inform us at what period[x]. (de Col.)

Æculanum, or Æclanum, must be placed on the Appian way, and about thirteen modern miles from *Benevento*. Holstenius first discovered the ruins of this city near *Mirabella*, on the site called by the natives *le Grotte*[y]. From Appian we learn that Æculanum was besieged by Sylla during the civil wars. (Civ. Bell. I. 51.) Frontinus and several inscriptions lead us to believe that it received afterwards a Roman colony[z]. Æculanum.

A little to the south of *Mirabella* was Taurasium, the locality of which is still marked by the name of *Taurasi*. This town is not noticed by any ancient writer, but we are assured of its existence by the inscription on the tomb of Scipio Barbatus, in which Taurasium is distinctly named with other towns taken by that general[a]. More frequent mention is made of the territory of Taurasium under the name of Taurasini Campi. It was here that Pyrrhus, on his return from Italy, was totally defeated by M. Curius Dentatus, A. U. C. 477. (Flor. I. 18. Front. Strateg. IV. 1. Oros. IV. 2. Cf. Plut. Pyrrh.) It should be observed, that in those writers the name of these plains is incorrectly written Arusini Campi[b]. The Romans, many years afterwards, settled in this Taurasium. Taurasini Campi.

[x] For several inscriptions relative to Abellinum, and which prove it to have been a municipal town of some note, see Romanelli, t. ii. p. 311.

[y] Adnot. p. 273. Romanelli, t. ii. p. 326.

[z] Guarini Ricerche sull' antica citta d'Eclano, 4to.

[a] Lanzi, t. ii. p. 275.

[b] Cluver. Italia Ant. II. p. 1201.

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district a numerous body of Ligurians, whom they had conquered and removed from their country. (Liv. XL. 38. Plin. III. 11.)

Fulsulæ. Fulsulæ, which Holstenius recognises in the modern *Montefusco*, near the *Calore*[c], is an insignificant town, named only by Livy. He represents it as having been taken by Fabius in the second Punic war. (XXIV. 20.)

Cluvia. Cluvia, mentioned by the same historian, (IX. 31.) is placed by Romanelli at *Montechiodi*, about ten miles north-east of Beneventum[d].

Equus Tuticus. Equus Tuticus[e] was a town on the Appian way, distant, according to the Itineraries, twenty-two ancient miles from the last mentioned city. Much discussion has arisen among topographers as to its precise situation. Cluverius was of opinion that it ought to be placed at *Ariano*[f]; others near *Ascoli*[g]; D'Anville at *Castel Franco*[h]; which supposition is nearly correct: but the exact site, according to the report of local antiquaries, is occupied by the ancient church of S. Eleuterio, a martyr, who is stated in old ecclesiastical records to have suffered at Æquum. This place is about five miles from *Ariano*, in a northerly direction[i]. We find mention also made of Equus Tuticus in Cicero, (ad Att. VI. Ep. 1.) as well as in Ptolemy, (p. 66.) who calls it Τούτικον. The branch of the Appian way on which it stood runs nearly parallel with that which Horace seems to have followed in his well known journey to Brundusium.

[c] Adnot. p. 270. Romanelli, t. ii. p. 323.

[d] Romanelli, t. ii. p. 331.

[e] Tuticus is an Oscan word, equivalent to the Latin Magnus. Lanzi, t. iii. p. 608.

[f] Ital. Ant. II. p. 12.

[g] Pratilli, Via Appia, l. iv. c. 10.

[h] Anal. Geogr. de l'Ital. p. 218.

[i] Vitali Memorie d'Ariano. Introd. Romanelli, t. ii. p. 339.

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He informs us, that he passed the first night, after leaving Beneventum, at a villa close to Trivicum, a place situated among the mountains separating Samnium from Apulia. Trivicum.

Incipit ex illo montes Appulia notos
Ostentare mihi, quos torret Atabulus; et quos
Nunquam erepsemus, nisi nos vicina Trivici
Villa recepisset, lacrimoso non sine fumo,
Udos cum foliis ramos urente camino. I. Sat. 5.

The little town of *Trivico*, which appears on a height above the course of the ancient Appian way, points out the direction of that road; and some ruins which are said to be visible below it, probably represent the farm which afforded a lodging to Horace and his fellow-travellers. Somewhat to the south-west of *Trivico*, and close to the little town of *Fricento*, is the celebrated valley and lake of Amsanctus, of which Virgil has left us so fine a description. Amsancti Vallis et Lacus.

Est locus Italiæ medio, sub montibus altis,
Nobilis, et fama multis memoratus in oris,
Amsancti valles: densis hunc frondibus atrum
Urget utrinque latus nemoris, medioque fragosus
Dat sonitum saxis et torto vortice torrens:
Hic specus horrendum, sævi spiracula Ditis,
Monstratur, ruptoque ingens Acheronte vorago
Pestiferas aperit fauces; queis condita Erinnys,
Invisum numen, terras cœlumque levabat.
Æn. VII. 563.

Tunc et pestiferi pacatum limen Averni
Innocuæ transistis aves: flatumque repressit
Amsanctus; fixo tacuit torrente vorago.
Claud. Pros. Rapt. II. 348.

Some antiquaries have confounded this spot with the lake of Cutiliæ, near *Rieti*; but Servius, in his

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commentary on the above lines, distinctly tells us it was situated in the country of the Hirpini, which is also confirmed by Cicero. (de Div. I. and Pliny II. 93.) The latter writer mentions a temple consecrated to the goddess Mephitis on the banks of this sulphureous lake, of which a good description is given by Romanelli, taken from a work of Leonardo *di Capoa*[k]. Returning to the Appian way, we find a station named Sub Romula, laid down in the Itineraries as being twenty-one miles beyond Æculanum. This place evidently points out the site of an ancient town named Romulea, which antiquaries agree in fixing at *Bisaccia*[l]. The only writers who have named Romulea are Livy, who states that it was taken by a Roman army under the command of P. Decius, (X. 17.) and Stephanus of Byzantium. (v. Ῥωμυλία.)

Romulea.

About ten miles further on the Appian way was Aquilonia, placed by Cluverius and others at *Carbonara*, near the Aufidus[m]; but Holstenius is more correct in supposing it to be represented by the modern *Lacedogna*[n]. It has been already shewn that there was another city of this name in the northern part of Samnium. In addition to the Itineraries, the ancient authorities which establish the existence of Aquilonia in the country of the Hirpini are Pliny (III. 11.) and Ptolemy. (p. 67.)

Aquilonia.

On the southern confines of this portion of Sam-

[k] Romanelli, t. ii. p. 351.

[l] Cluver. Ital. Antiq. II. p. 1204. Pratilli, Via Appia, l. iv. c. 5. Romanelli, t. ii. p. 348.

[m] Ital. Antiq. II. p. 1204. Pratilli, l. iv. c. 5.

[n] Adnot. p. 274. Romanelli, t. ii. p. 345. It is probable that the Oscan name was Aquidonia, for the coins with the epigraph ACUDUNIAD cannot well be referred to any other city. Sestini, Monet. Vet. p. 13.

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nium was Compsa, now *Conza*, a city of some note, which revolted to Hannibal after the battle of Cannæ: it was here that general left all his baggage and part of his army when advancing towards Campania. (Liv. XXIII. 1.) Compsa was retaken by the Romans under Fabius two years afterwards. (Liv. XXIV. 20.) Velleius Paterculus says, that Milo, the assassin of Clodius, met his death before the walls of Compsa, which he was at that time besieging; (Vell. Paterc. II. 68.) but according to Cæsar and Pliny, this event took place near Cossa in Lucania. This last author classes Compsa with the other towns of the Hirpini; (III. 11.) Ptolemy erroneously assigns it to Lucania. (p. 67.) North-west of *Conza* is a small town called *Calitri*, which may be the Aletrium of Pliny[o]. (III. 11.) Compsa. Aletrium.

We read in Livy of three towns in the territory of the Hirpini having been retaken by the Romans from the Carthaginians, to whom they had revolted; and it may be noticed, that in the passage of the historian which records this event, the names of these places are omitted, whilst it is mentioned that Vercellius and Sicilius, the authors of the defection, were beheaded. (XXIII. 37.) It is justly observed, however, by Gronovius, in a note on this passage, that by a blunder of the transcribers, the names of the three towns have been metamorphosed into those of two individuals; he proposes, therefore, that we should read with the best MSS. "Et ex Hirpinis oppida tria, quæ a populo Romano defecerant vi recepta per M. Valerium prætorem, Vercellium, Vescellium, Sicilium." In fact, we learn from Vercellium, Vescellium, Sicilium.

[o] Romanelli, t. ii. p. 354.

Pliny, that Vescellium was a city of the Hirpini, (III. 11.) though we have no clue to guide us in our search of either its position, or those of the two other places mentioned with it.

Rufræ. I agree with Cluverius and D'Anville in identifying the Rufræ of Virgil with the little town of ***Ruvo*** near ***Conza***. (Æn. VII. 739.)

FRENTANI.

The small nation of the Frentani appears to have possessed a separate political existence independent of the Samnitic confederacy, though we are assured that they derived their descent from that warlike and populous race[p]. (Strab. V. 241.) Their history, in other respects, resembles so much that of the neighbouring tribes, the Vestini, Peligni, and Marrucini, that I might almost refer the reader to the account which has been already given of those petty states. Together with these, the Frentani, as Livy reports, voluntarily submitted to the Romans, and sent deputies to obtain a treaty from that power, which was readily granted. (Liv. IX. 45.) We find the Frentani also numbered with the Marsi, Marrucini, and Vestini, by Polybius, as the allies of Rome before the invasion of Hannibal. (II. 24.) From Plutarch we learn, that they distinguished themselves in the war against Pyrrhus; (vit. Pyrr. Flor. I. 18.) and it appears that they faithfully adhered to the Roman cause throughout the whole of the second Punic war.

[p] That the Frentani belonged to the great Oscan family is proved also from several inscriptions in that language discovered in their country, and also from the coins with the epigraph FRENTRER. Romanelli, t. iii. p. 4. Sestini, Monet. Vet. p. 13.

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Qua duri bello gens Marrucina, fidemque
Exuere indocilis sociis Frentanus in armis.
SIL. ITAL. XV. 569.

Marrucina simul Frentanis æmula pubes
Corfini populos magnumque Teate trahebat.
ID. VIII. 521.

Appian is the only author who has particularly mentioned Frentani as having joined the coalition of the petty states of central Italy against Rome; (Civ. Bell. I. 39.) but even without the authority of this writer we could not doubt that this people would unite in support of the common cause with the surrounding states, to whom they were bound by consanguinity, and other political ties.

Whatever may have been their former extent of territory[q], we find it restricted by the geographers of the Augustan age to the tract of country lying between the mouths of the Aternus and Tifernus, which separated it from the Marrucini to the north, and from Apulia to the south. (Mel. II. 4. Plin. III. 11. and 12. Ptol. p. 66.) Though it extended also in the interior towards Samnium, and the sources of the rivers above mentioned, the few cities of the Frentani with which we are acquainted appear to have been situated on the coast.

The first of these is Ortona, which Strabo terms the naval arsenal of the Frentani. (V. 241.) It is also noticed by Pliny (III. 11.) and Ptolemy. (p. 66.) This town still retains its ancient site and name. Ortona.

South of Ortona, and more inland, was Anxa- Anxanum.

[q] Cluverius and other writers, referring to a period previous to the division of Augustus, have removed the southern confines of the Frentani to the river Frento, now *Fortore*. Ital. Ant. II. p. 1205. Romanelli, t. iii. p. 9.

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num, (Ptol. p. 66.) which occupied the site now called *Lanciano vecchio.* The name of this town seems to have been also written Anxa and Anxia. (Plin. III. 11. Front. de Col.) From the latter author it appears that Anxanum was a Roman colony[r].

Buca.

Beyond the river Sagrus was Buca, a seaport town, mentioned by several ancient writers, but the position of which is now subject to much uncertainty. Strabo seems to place it near Teanum, on the confines of Apulia; (V. 241.) but elsewhere he states that it was separated from Teanum by an interval of 200 stadia, or 25 miles: (VI. 285.) it is probable, therefore, that there must be an error in the first passage. (Cf. Plin. III. 12. Mel. II. 4. Ptol. p. 66. Steph. Byz. v. Βύβη[s].) A modern topographer, who founds his opinion on the reports of local antiquaries and ancient ecclesiastical records, informs us, that the ruins of Buca are to be seen at a place named *Penna*[t].

Histonium.

Further along the coast, *Vasto d'Ammone* represents Histonium, once the haunt of savage pirates; who, as Strabo reports, formed their dwellings from the wrecks of ships, and in other respects lived more like beasts of prey than civilized beings[u]. (V. 242.) This town is, however, afterwards enumerated by Frontinus among the colonies of Rome; and its ruins, which are still visible, attest that it was not wanting in splendour and extent[x]. (Cf. Mel. II. 4.

[r] On the antiquities of Anxanum, see Romanelli Scoverte Frentane, t. ii. p. 100. and Topogr. Ant. del Regn. di Nap. I. 55.

[s] Holstenius saw that for Buba we should read Buca. Not. in Steph. Byz.

[t] Romanelli, t. iii. p. 40.

[u] It should be observed, that there is an error in the text of Strabo, where the name of this town is written Ὀρτώνιον.

[x] Romanelli, t. iii. p. 32.

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Plin. III. 12. Ptol. p. 66.) Beyond is the mouth of the Trinius, *Trigno*, with its port. (Plin. III. 12.) Trinius fl.
We learn from inscriptions and other monuments that the small town and port of *Termoli*, situate near this river, was anciently called Interamna. The Tifernus, now *Biferno*, terminates the description of the Ager Frentanus to the south. (Plin. III. 12. Ptol. p. 66. Mel. II. 4.) Interamna. Tifernus fl.

In addition to the abovementioned towns belonging to the Frentani, an Italian writer, who has paid particular attention to the antiquities of this portion of Italy, points out some ruins which retain the name of *Civita di Sangro*, on a height above the right bank of that river, as the probable site of a town, the inhabitants of which are termed by Pliny Carentini, or Caraceni Infernates[y]. The same writer has discovered at *Foreto*, on the left bank of the *Sangro*, and near *Francavilla*, some remains of an ancient town, which he identifies with the Urbs Ferentana, said by Livy to have been taken by the consul Aulius Cerretanus, A. U. C. 435. (IX. 16.) This seems also to have been the opinion of earlier antiquaries[z]. Caraceni Infernates. Urbs Ferentana.

PUBLIC ROADS.

In the last section, the course of the Appian way was described through Campania as far as Capua; from that point therefore we may resume the detail of its stations and distances as far as Beneventum, and from thence again through the different ramifications of the same route to the confines of Apulia.

[y] Romanelli Scoverte Frentane, vol. i. Art. Città di Saro.

[z] Id. t. iii. p. 49. e Topogr. Ant. t. iii. p. 68.

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Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Capua	*S. Maria di Capoa*	
Calatiam	*le Galazze* - -	VI.
ad Novas	*la Nova* - -	VI.
Caudium	*Paolisi* - -	IX.
Beneventum	*Benevento* - -	XI.

From Beneventum, one branch of the Appian way proceeded through the country of the Hirpini to Venusia in Apulia, and from thence to Tarentum and Brundusium. Another branch took a more northerly direction on leaving Beneventum, and passing the Apennines near Æquotuticum, led to Canusium in Apulia, and from thence along the coast to Brundusium: the latter part of this road was called Via Egnatia[a]. (Strab. VI. p. 282.)

The first is thus detailed in the Antonine Itinerary.

Beneventum	*Benevento*	
Æculanum	*Mirabella* - -	XV.
Sub Romulam	*Formicoso*[b] - -	XXI.
Pontem Aufidi	*Ponte S. Venere*[c] -	XVII.[d]
Venusiam	*Venosa* - -	XIX.

But in the Table the stations are arranged in the following manner:

Beneventum	*Benevento*	
Nuceriolam	*Ricerola*[e] - -	IV.
Calorem fl.	*Calore* - -	VI.
Æculanum	*Mirabella* - -	V.
Sub Romulam	*Formicoso* - -	XXI.[f]

[a] Pratilli, Via Appia, l. iv. c. 2. D'Anville, Anal. Geogr. de l'Ital. p. 217. Romanelli, t. ii. p. 517.

[b] Romanelli, t. ii. p. 529.

[c] Id. t. ii. p. 529.

[d] Instead of XXII.

[e] Holsten. Adnot p. 270.

[f] Instead of XVI.

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Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Aquiloniam	*Lacedogna* -	- XI.
Pontem Aufidi	*Ponte S. Venere*	- VI.
Venusiam	*Venosa* -	- XVIII.

The second branch of the Appian way is thus traced in the Itinerary of Antoninus.

Beneventum	*Benevento*	
Equotuticum	*S. Eleuterio* -	- XXI.
Æcas	*Troja* -	- XVIII.
Herdoniam	*Ordona* -	- XIX.
Canusium	*Canosa*[g] -	- XXVI.

The Jerusalem Itinerary is somewhat more detailed.

Beneventum	*Benevento*	
Vicum Forum Novum	*Buonalbergo*[h]	- X.
Æquum Magnum	*S. Eleuterio* -	- XII.
Aquilonis	*Bucculo di Troja*[i]	VIII.
Æcas	*Troja* -	- X.
Herdoniam	*Ordona* -.	- XVIII.
ad Undecimum	- - -	- XV.
Canusium	*Canosa* -	- XI.

Between these two routes was an intermediate one, only known to us from the description of Horace, to which I have already alluded, with reference to Trivicum; in the vicinity of which town that poet rested after leaving Beneventum. He proceeds to inform us, that twenty-four miles beyond, he came to a place the name of which could not be expressed in verse.

[g] The three last stations are in Apulia.

[h] Holsten. Adnot. p. 271. Romanelli, t. ii. p. 329.

[i] Pratilli, Via Appia, l. iv. c. 12. Romanelli, t. ii. p. 342.

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Quatuor hinc rapimur viginti et millia rhedis,
Mansuri oppidulo, quod versu dicere non est,
Signis perfacile est: venit vilissima rerum
Hic aqua; sed panis longe pulcherrimus, ultra
Callidus ut soleat humeris portare viator.

I. Sat. 5.

From the relative positions of Trivicum and Canusium, whither Horace was proceeding, and the distance he mentions, antiquaries are of opinion that this unpoetical station must have been near Asculum in Apulia [k].

The northern part of Samnium was traversed by a road which communicated with the Valerian, Latin, and Appian ways, and after crossing through part of Apulia, fell into the Via Aquilia in Lucania. There is reason for supposing this to have been the Via Numicia of which Horace says,

Brundusium Numici melius via ducat, an Appi.

I. Epist. 18.

For Cicero speaks of a Via Minucia, which must have agreed in direction with that which I am now describing; and early critics have remarked, that the true reading in this passage of Cicero was Numicia [l]. (ad Att. IX. Ep. 6.)

In the Itinerary of Antoninus this route is described under the head "Iter a Mediolano per Picenum et "Campaniam ad Columnam." The following stations are laid down from Corfinium on the Valerian way to Venusia, situated on the Via Appia.

[k] Romanelli, t. ii. p. 251. It appears from some inscriptions discovered near Ascoli, that the road here mentioned was repaired by Trajan.

[l] Turneb. Advers. l. i. c. 21.

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Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Corfinio	*S. Pelino*	
Sulmonem	*Sulmone*	VII.
Aufidenam	*Alfidena*	XXIV.
Æserniam	*Isernia*	XVIII.[m]
Bovianum	*Boiano*	XVIII.
Super Tamarum fl.	*Tamaro fiume*	XVI.
ad Equotuticum	*S. Eleuterio*	XXII.
ad Matrem Magnam	*Villanova*	XVI.[n]
ad Honoratianum	- - -	XX.
Venusiam	*Venosa*	XXVIII.

The Table describes the same road, but with this difference, that it carries it on to Beneventum, and then follows the Via Appia to Venusia.

Corfinio	*S. Pelino*	
Sulmonem	*Sulmone*	VII.
Jovis Palenii	*Campo Giove*	VII.
Aufidenam	*Alfidena*	XXIV.
Æserniam	*Isernia*	XVIII.
ad Vulturnum fl.	*Volturno fiume*	VIII.
Æbutianam	*Ailano*	VII.[o]
Allifas	*Alife*	IX.
Sæpinum	*Sepino*	XVI.[p]
Sirpium	- - -	VI.[q]
Beneventum	*Benevento*	XVIII.

I may here observe that a branch of the Via Latina crossed into this route from Teanum Sidicinum, and thus afforded a more direct communication between that town and Beneventum than by Capua. The Itinerary of Antoninus thus details it:

[m] The Itinerary gives XXVIII.

[n] This, according to Romanelli, should be X. and the next number XV. t. ii. p. 723.

[o] Holsten. Adnot. p. 266.

[p] The Table marks VI.

[q] Instead of XII. Holsten. Adnot. p. 270.

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Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Teano Sidicino	*Tiano*	
Allifas	*Alife* - - -	XVII.
Telesiam	*Telese* - -	XXV.
Beneventum	*Benevento* - -	XVIII.

Finally, a cross-road led from Beneventum into the country of the Picentini, where it fell in with the Via Aquilia at Picentia. The distances, according to the Table, are these:

Beneventum	*Benevento*	
Abellinum	*Avellino* - -	XVI.
Picentiam	*Bicenza* - -	XII.[r]

The only route which traversed the territory of the Frentani was a continuation of the Via Salaria, which followed the coast as far as Brundusium. According to Romanelli it was termed Via Frentana Apula[s]. But in the Itinerary of Antoninus we find it described under the head "Via Flaminia per Picenum Brundusium."

Ostia Aterni	*Pescara*	
Ortonam	*Ortona* - -	XI.
Anxanum	*Lanciano vecchio* -	X.[t]
Histonium	*Vasto d'Ammone* -	XX.[u]
Uscosium	*Vicoso* - - -	XV.
Larinum	*Larino vecchio* -	XIV.

The Table gives this road with some variations.

Ostio Aterni		
Fluvium Clocorim[x]	*Foro fiume* - -	XII.

[r] This number should be XX. Romanelli, t. ii. p. 517.

[s] Id. t. iii. p. 631.

[t] Instead of XIII.

[u] The Itinerary gives XXV.

[x] Probably we should read Faurum. Romanelli, t. iii. p. 732.

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Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Ortonam	*Ortona* - -	XVI.[y]
Anxanum	*Lanciano vecchio* -	XI.
Annum (Amnem?)	*Sangro fiume* -	IV.[z]
Pallanum	*Pallano*[a] - -	XII.[b]
Histonium	*Vasto d'Ammone* -	XII.
Larinum	*Larino vecchio* -	XXIII.

[y] This number should be XII.

[z] The Table gives VI.

[a] See Romanelli for a curious account of this place, t. iii. p. 43.

[b] The Table reads IV.

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SECTION XII.

APULIA.

Division of this province into Daunia or Apulia properly so called, Peucetia and Iapygia, or Messapia—History and description of these several districts, with their subdivisions—Roman ways.

WE are led to infer from Strabo's account of the eastern coast of Italy, that the name of Apulia was originally applied to a small tract of country situated immediately to the south of the Frentani, whose territory was described in the preceding section; (Strab. VI. 283.) but whatever may have been the narrow confines of the portion of country occupied by the Apuli, properly so called, we know that in the reign of Augustus the term Apulia was employed in a far more extended sense, including indeed the territories of several people much more celebrated in history than the obscure tribe above mentioned, but who sunk in proportion as this common name was brought into general use.

It may be remarked indeed as a singular circumstance, that whereas, under the Romans, all former appellations peculiar to the different people who inhabited this part of the peninsula were lost in that of Apulia, the Greeks, to whom this name was unknown, should have given the same extension to that of Iapygia, with which the Romans, on the other

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hand, were entirely unacquainted [b]. The term Iapygia appears to have been confined at first to that peninsula which closes the gulf of Tarentum to the south-east, and to which the name of Messapia was likewise sometimes applied; but we find at a later period that Polybius gives to Iapygia the same extension which the Roman historians and geographers assign to Apulia.

When describing Hannibal's advance into the southern provinces of Italy from Picenum, he states that this general, having traversed the country of the Marrucini and Frentani, penetrated into Iapygia, which is divided into the territories of the Dauni, the Peucetii [c], and the Messapii. (Polyb. III. 88.) Strabo acknowledges also the same division of Apulia, and adds, that as these distinctions were very ancient, it was no easy matter in his time to assign to each people their peculiar limits. (VI. 277. and 283.) Before we follow him, however, in this inquiry, it will be necessary to state generally the boundaries under which Apulia, in its greatest extent, seems to have been comprehended. To the north then this province was separated from the Ager Frentanus by the river Tifernus; to the west it may be conceived as divided from Samnium by a line drawn from that river to the Aufidus, and the chain of mount Vultur; to the south, and on the side of Lucania, it was bordered by the river Bradanus [d]. Within these limits then we must place with Polybius, Strabo, and the Latin geographers, the several portions of country

[b] Iapyges and Iapygi are found only in the Latin poets and geographers, as terms borrowed from the Greeks.

[c] In the Greek text the name of the Peucetii is left out.

[d] Cluver. Ital. Ant. II. p. 1219.

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occupied by the Daunii, Peucetii, and Messapii, and endeavour to discern, as accurately as it is possible at the present day, what relates to each respective people.

DAUNIA.

The Daunii appear to be one of the earliest Italian tribes with which the Greeks became acquainted, from the circumstance of their having formed colonies which they established at a remote period on the western shores of the Adriatic. This people, according to the most received tradition, obtained their appellation from Daunus, the father-in-law of Diomed; who is stated, on his return from Troy, to have been compelled, by domestic calamities, to abandon his native country, and to have founded another kingdom in the plains watered by the Aufidus. This tradition, as far as it relates to Diomed, may afford matter for a separate discussion; but I shall at present remark, that it proves at least the great antiquity of the Daunians as an indigenous people of Italy. Other accounts, perhaps still more ancient, asserted that Daunus was an Illyrian chief, who, driven from his country by an adverse faction, formed a settlement in this part of Italy. (Fest. v. Daunia.)

If indeed we compare the several testimonies of ancient writers, in regard to the derivation of some portion at least of the population of south-eastern Italy from Illyria, we shall be disposed readily to admit the fact, and to allow also that the period to which it must be referred is of very remote antiquity. But I will not go so far as Freret, who asserts that the Apuli, Daunii, Peucetii, and Calabri, were actually Illyrians[e].

[e] Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscript. t. xviii. p. 75.

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We are assured by Strabo, that these several people resembled each other in customs and language; and as we know that the Calabrian dialect was much allied to the Oscan, from the fact of its being the language of Ennius, we are authorized to infer the existence of the same affinity with regard also to the Daunii and Apuli, independently of other arguments drawn from coins, inscriptions, and various monuments [f]. We cannot doubt indeed that the Oscans had extended themselves along the shore of the Adriatic, since they are distinctly mentioned by Scylax in his description of that part of Italy. (Peripl. p. 5.) The safest opinion, therefore, that can be adopted with regard to the inhabitants of this province, is to consider them as the descendants of a remnant of Liburni, and other ancient Illyrians, mingled with a subsequent and preponderating influx of Oscans and different native Italian tribes.

We have no insight whatever into the history of Daunia or Apulia, properly so termed, before the wars of the Samnites and Romans, except the single fact, that these districts were under the government of native princes. (Strab. VI. 281.)

At the period above stated, it appears that the Samnites had already directed their attention to the conquest of Apulia, and this was probably a sufficient inducement for the Romans to dispute with them the possession of that fertile country. Accordingly we hear of the plains of Apulia becoming the fre-

[f] There is a strong analogy between the names of many Apulian towns, and others of Oscan origin in various parts of Italy. Thus we have Teanum, Teate, Asculum, Luceria, corresponding with Teanum of the Sidicini, Teate of the Marrucini, Asculum of the Picentes, Nuceria of the Campani and Umbri.

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quent scene of hostilities between the contending armies of both nations, and of their becoming finally the prize of the victorious Romans; who pretended, however, according to the rules of their specious policy, to consider the Apuli as their faithful allies, unjustly harassed and oppressed by their Samnite neighbours. (Liv. IX. 2. and 12.) In the war with Pyrrhus, the struggle was for some time carried on in Apulia, and many of her towns fell into the power of that prince; but on his evacuating Italy they returned again to their former allegiance. (Plut. Pyrr.) In the second Punic war, a great portion of this province declared itself in favour of the Carthaginians, after the disastrous defeat experienced by the Romans at Cannæ, and remained in the occupation of Hannibal, until he withdrew to the more southern parts of Italy. (Liv. XXII. 61.) At a subsequent period, the Apuli joined in the efforts made by the confederate Italic cities to obtain from the Roman senate an acknowledgment of their rights, and they finally with them reaped the fruit of their perseverance and resolution. (App. Civ. Bell. I. 39. Vell. Paterc. II. 16.)

In describing the boundaries of Apulia Proper, we must follow the authority of Strabo, as he is the only writer who has noticed the existence of a district under this specific name. He evidently conceives it to have been contiguous to the Ager Frentanus on one side, and to the Daunia on the other. (VI. 283.) Pliny likewise seems to confirm this arrangement when he tells us, that the Apulian Dauni extended from the river Tifernus to the Cerbalus; (III. 11.) though it must be observed, that Strabo appears to limit these Apuli to the south by the Lacus Urianus,

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now *Lago Varano*. At this point, therefore, we may fix the confines of the Apuli and Dauni, and trace those of the latter and the Peucetii, by a line drawn from the mouth of the Aufidus to Silvium, now *Garagnone*, in the Apennines, so as to include Cannæ and Canusium within the Daunian territory. (Strab. VI. 283.)

Beginning then from the river Tifernus, the first town we find on the side of Apulia is Cliternia. (Mel. III. 4. Plin. III. 12.) According to Romanelli, the ruins of Cliternia are to be seen at a small place called *Licchiano*, styled in old writings Cliternianum, and situated on the little river *Sacchione*, not far from the sea[g]. Cliternia.

Larinum is a town of more importance, which, though it may have once belonged to the Frentani, from the name of Larinates Frentani attached to its inhabitants by Pliny, (III. 12.) appears to have formed in itself a small independent state, before it became subject to the Roman power. Stephanus Byz. terms it a Daunian city. (v. Λάρινα.) We have frequent mention of Larinum in Cicero's defence of A. Cluentius, who was a distinguished citizen of that town; and we may collect from what is there stated, that it was a municipal city of some consequence, and in a flourishing condition. It appears from Livy, that Larinum was situated on the road which led from Picenum into Apulia, as that historian describes Hannibal's march along the Adriatic through the territory of the Frentani and of Larinum: (XXII. 18.) and elsewhere, that of Claudius Nero, when proceeding to join his colleague, who was opposed to Asdrubal. (XXVII. 43.) Larinum.

[g] Romanelli, t. iii. p. 22.

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Quaque jacet superi Larinas accola ponti,
Qua duri bello gens Marrucina, fidemque
Exuere indocilis sociis Frentanus in armis.
SIL. ITAL. XV. 568.

Cæsar likewise details his own advance along this route, in pursuit of the remnant of Pompey's forces to the south, in the direction of Brundusium. (Civ. Bell. I. 23. Cf. Cic. ad Att. VII. Ep. 12.) Larinum is also noticed by Mela, (II. 4.) Pliny, (III. 11.) and Ptolemy. (p. 66.) Its ruins, which are said to be considerable, occupy the site called *Larino vecchio*[h].

Polybius, in relating the military operations of Minucius, master of the horse to Fabius, against Hannibal, during the dictator's absence, mentions that Minucius was stationed close to a fortress which he calls Calela, in the territory of Larinum. Romanelli has been the first to point out the agreement of this site with that of a place called *Casa Calenda*, about six miles to the south of Larinum[i].

Arx Calela.

In the description of Hannibal's march from Samnium and the Peligni into Apulia, it is stated, that before he arrived in the latter province he crossed a chain of mountains called Liburnus; which probably answers to the branch of the Apennines bordering on the valley of the Tifernus to the north, and known by the name of *Monte della Serra*[k]. (Polyb. III. 101.)

Liburnus Mons.

About two miles from the fortress above mentioned was Gerunium, which, according to Polybius and Livy, was selected by Hannibal for his winter

Gerunium.

[h] Romanelli, t. iii. p. 20. Antiquaries agree in ascribing to this town the coins with the Oscan inscription LADINOD for LARINOR. Lanzi, t. iii. p. 601. Sestini, Monet. Vet. p. 13.

[i] T. iii. p. 16.

[k] Romanelli, loc. cit.

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quarters, after the campaign against Fabius. On his arrival before the town he summoned it to surrender; but finding his overtures rejected, he laid siege to the place, and carried it by storm. The private dwellings were destroyed, and the principal buildings were reserved only as magazines for the corn, which the surrounding country supplied in great abundance. (Polyb. III. 100. Liv. XXII. 18.) It was here that Hannibal was opposed to the rash Minucius, who, but for the timely aid afforded him by Fabius, would have paid dearly for his presumption, in supposing that he was able to cope with the Carthaginian leader. (Liv. XXII. 24—28. Polyb. III. 105.)

Cluverius imagined that the situation of Gerunium corresponded with that of *Dragonara*, a ruined castle on the right bank of the *Fortore*[l]; in which opinion he has been followed by Cellarius[m]: but it is evident that this site cannot represent Gerunium, which, according to Polybius, was in the vicinity of Larinum, and two hundred stadia, or twenty-five miles, from Luceria; whereas *Dragonara* is fifteen miles from Larinum, and only twelve from Luceria, which has neither changed its name nor its position. The able antiquary who has done so much towards illustrating the ancient topography of southern Italy, justly therefore rejects the notion entertained by Cluverius, and proves, by a comparison of distances, as well as from old records, that Gerunium must have been situated on a spot still known by the name of *Girone*, between *Casacalenda* and *Montorio*[n]. He does not seem, however, correct in ascrib-

[l] Ital. Ant. II. p. 1213.
[m] Geogr. Ant. l. ii. c. 9.
[n] Romanelli, t. iii. p. 14.

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ing Gerunium to the Frentani, as Livy distinctly terms it an Apulian castle. (XXII. 39.)

Returning towards the sea, we must place to the west of Cliternia an ancient city, which has escaped the research of Cluverius and other early geographers. Its name was Teate Apulum, to distinguish it from Teate of the Marrucini. Livy mentions the Teates Apuli among the people of this province who early submitted to the Roman power; but the commentators of that historian have had great hesitation in admitting this name to be correct, though Sigonius found it in all the MSS[o]. (Liv. IX. 20.) Some indication of the city now under consideration is also derived from Frontinus, who names it among the colonies of Apulia. And, as further evidence, it may be observed, that the ruins which have been discovered about twelve miles from Larinum, and six from the sea, retain the name of *Chieti vecchio*, which clearly appears to be a corruption of Teate[p].

Teate Apulum.

Beyond is the river Frento, now *Fortore*, (Plin. III. 11.) and on its right bank stood the city of Teanum, to which the appellation of Apulum was added, to distinguish it from a town of the same name which has been already noticed as belonging to the Sidicini. Strabo, speaking of the Apulian Teanum, says it was situated at some distance from the coast, and at the head of a lake formed by the sea, which here

Frento fl.

Teanum Apulum.

[o] See the notes of Gronovius to the Var. Ed. in 3 vol. 8vo. and that of Crevier on this passage.

[p] Giovenazzi sito d'Aveia Città dei Vestini, p. 13. Tria Memorie di Larino, l. iv. Numismatical writers ascribe to the Apulian Teate the coins with the epigraph TIATI, and a man on horseback crowning his steed. Avellin. Giorn. Numism. N°. VI. p. 18. Sestini, Monet. Vet. p. 15.

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encroaches so considerably upon the land, so that the breadth of Italy, between this point and Puteoli, does not exceed 1000 stadia. (VI. 285.)

Teanum is stated by Livy to have submitted to the Roman generals soon after the appearance of a consular army in their territory. (IX. 20.) We find it again adverted to by the same historian, in the second Punic war, as the head quarters of a Roman army. (XXIII. 26.) It is also noticed by Mela, (II. 4.) Cicero, (Orat. pro Cluent. 69.) and Pliny. (III. 11.) Frontinus acquaints us that it was a colony, and several inscriptions describe it as a municipal city. The ruins of Teanum are stated to exist on the site of *Civitate*, about a mile from the right bank of the *Fortore*, and ten miles from the sea[q].

The lake which Strabo speaks of as being near Teanum, but without mentioning its name, is called by Pliny Lacus Pantanus, (III. 11.) now *Lago di Lesina*. Lacus Pantanus.

From Pomponius Mela we learn, that the deep bay formed by the sea in this part of the Apulian coast was called Sinus Urias. (II. 4.) It derived its name from Uria, or Ureium, as Strabo writes it; (VI. 284.) a town, the position of which has not yet been clearly ascertained, partly from the circumstance of there being another town of the same name in Messapia, and partly from the situation assigned to it by Pliny, to the south of the promontory of Garganus not agreeing with the topography of Strabo. (Plin. III. 11.) Hence Cluverius and Cellarius were led to imagine, that there were two distinct towns named Uria and Hyrium; the former Sinus Urias. Uria vel Hyreium.

[q] Holsten. Adnot. p. 279. Romanelli, t. ii. p. 292.

situated to the south, the latter to the north of the Garganus[r]. It must be observed, however, that Dionysius Periegetes and Ptolemy (p. 62.) mention only Hyrium, and therefore it is probable that the error has originated with Pliny. At any rate, we may safely place the Hyreium of Strabo at *Rodi*[s]. Catullus probably alludes to this town in his address to Venus.

> Nunc o cæruleo creata ponto
> Quæ sanctum Idalium, Uriosque apertos[t]
> Colis. XXXVI. 11.

Portus Garnæ. Collatia.

A little beyond Hyreium we must place the Portus Garnæ of Pliny. (III. 11.) Collatia, also mentioned by that author, (III. 11.) and described by Frontinus (de Col.) as being situated near mount Garganus, answers evidently to *Collatina*, laid down in modern maps in that direction. The latter writer speaks in the same passage of the Ager Carmeianus as lying in this vicinity; which would imply, if the name is not corrupt, the existence of a place called Carmeia; but we are here left entirely to conjecture[u].

Ager Carmeianus.

Opposite to the bay of *Rodi*, or Sinus Urias, and at no great distance from the coast, are some small islands, celebrated in mythology as the scene of the metamorphosis of Diomed's companions, who were

[r] Ital. Antiq. II. p. 1212. Geogr. Ant. l. ii. c. 9.

[s] Cluver. Ital. Ant. loc. cit. Numismatical writers assign to Hyreium the coins with maritime emblems, such as the dolphin and helm, and the Greek inscriptions ΤΡ. and ΤΡΙΑΤΙΝΩΝ. Sestini, Monet. Vet. p. 15.

[t] The more approved reading is however "Syrosque aper-"tos." See the note of Vulpius on this passage.

[u] Romanelli, t. ii. p. 286.

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changed into birds, and of the disappearance of that hero himself; hence they were known by the name of Insulæ Diomedeæ. (Aristot. de Mirab. Lycophr. Alex. v. 599. Ovid. Metam. XIV.) Ancient writers differ as to their number. Strabo recognises two; whereof one was inhabited, the other deserted. (VI. 284.) This is also the account of Pliny, who states that one was called Diomedea, the other Teutria. (III. 26. and X. 44.) Ptolemy however reckons five, (p. 62.) which is said to be the correct number, if we include in the group three barren rocks, which scarce deserve the name of islands. The island to which Pliny gives the name of Diomedea appears to have also borne the appellation of Tremitus, as we learn from Tacitus; who informs us it was the spot to which Augustus removed his abandoned granddaughter Julia, and where she terminated a life of infamy. (Ann. IV. 71.) Of these islands, the largest is now called *Isola San Domino*, the other *S. Nicolo*[x]. Insulæ Diomedeæ.

We must now proceed to describe that part of Apulia to which the name of Daunia more particularly belonged, its extent having been already pointed out.

Continuing our progress along the coast, we must first notice the chain of mount Garganus, and its final termination in the bold promontory of the same name, now *Punta di Viestі*[y]. Strabo seems to have considered the whole of that extensive neck of land, lying between the bay of *Rodi* and that of *Manfredonia*, as the Garganum Promontorium, for Mons Garganus. Garganum Promontorium.

[x] Romanelli, t. ii. p. 296. D'Anville, Anal. Geogr. de l'Italie, p. 242.
[y] Holsten. Adnot. p. 278.

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he describes it as running out to sea for the space of 300 stadia, or 37 miles. (VI. 284.) Scylax seems to refer to this mountain under the name of Arion. (Peripl. p. 5.) Frequent allusion is made to this celebrated ridge and headland by the Latin poets.

> . . . . nec Armeniis in oris,
> Amice Valgi, stat glacies iners
> Menses per omnes; aut Aquilonibus
> Querceta Gargani laborant,
> Et foliis viduantur orni. HOR. II. OD. 9.

> . . . . . nam quæ pervincere voces
> Evaluere sonum, referunt quem nostra theatra?
> Garganum mugire putes nemus, aut mare Tuscum.
> ID. II. EP. 1, 200.

> Nutantique ruens prostravit vertice silvas
> Garganus, fundoque imo mugivit anhelans
> Aufidus, et magno late distantia ponto
> Terruerunt pavidos accensa Ceraunia nautas.
> SIL. ITAL. VIII. 630.

But it is more particularly described by Lucan.

> . . . . . Ausoniam qua torquens frugifer oram,
> Dalmatico Boreæ, Calabroque obnoxius Austro,
> Apulus Hadriacas exit Garganus in undas.
> V. 378.

Drium Mons.

On one of the summits of Garganus, called Drium, about twelve miles from the coast, were two chapels, sacred to Calchas and Podalirius, the latter being somewhat lower down the same hill. A rivulet which issued from its base was said to have the peculiar property of healing all disorders incidental to cattle. Lycophron has also noticed this stream, which he calls Althænus, as well as the temples of Calchas

Althænus fl.

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and the son of Æsculapius[z]. (v. 1047. Strab. VI. 284.) Mount Garganus is called in modern geography *Monte S. Angelo.*

Near the promontory of Garganum was situated the town of Merinum, the inhabitants of which are termed by Pliny "Merinates ex Gargano." (III. 11.) Its ruins are said to be visible about four miles to the north of *Viesti*, where the church of *S. Maria di Merino* still preserves the name which was attached to this ancient site[a]. Merinum.

On the other side of the promontory, the Portus Agasus of Pliny is supposed to answer to the present *Porto Greco*[b]. (Plin. III. 11.) Portus Agasus.

Matinata, which follows, recalls the Mons Matinus, and probably also a city of the same name situated at the foot of this mountain. It was here, according to Horace, that the celebrated philosopher Archytas of Tarentum was interred, when cast on shore after shipwreck. Matinum. Matinus Mons.

> Te maris et terræ, numeroque carentis arenæ
> Mensorem cohibent, Archyta,
> Pulveris exigui prope littus parva Matinum
> Munera. I. Od. 28.

The Scholiast on this passage observes, that Matinus was a mountain and small town of Apulia. The same poet has noticed this spot in two other places.

> . . . . . ego apis Matinæ
> More modoque
> Grata carpentis thyma per laborem

[z] This little stream is said no longer to exist. Romanelli, t. ii. p. 216.

[a] Holsten. Adnot. p. 278. Romanelli, t. ii. p. 214.

[b] Cluver. Ital. Ant. II. p. 1212.

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Plurimum, circa nemus uvidique
Tiburis ripas, operosa parvus
Carmina fingo. IV. Od. 2.

. . . . . quando
Padus Matina laverit cacumina:
In mare seu celsus procurrerit Apenninus.
Epod. 16.

Lucan also refers to the Mons Matinus in the following lines.

Sic, ubi depastis submittere gramina campis
Et renovare parans hybernas Apulus herbas,
Igne fovet terras, simul et Garganus, et arva
Vulturis, et calidi lucent buceta Matini. IX. 182.

Sipus vel Sipontum.

Sipus, or, as the Latins write it, Sipontum, was a city of great antiquity, and unquestionably of Greek origin, even though the tradition which ascribed its foundation to Diomed should be regarded as fabulous. Strabo, who mentions this story, states that the name of this town was derived from the circumstance of great quantities of scuttle-fish (in Greek Sepia) being thrown up by the sea on its shore[c]. (Strab. VI. 284.)

Little is known of the history of Sipontum before its name appears in the annals of Rome. We are told by Livy that it was occupied by Alexander, king of Epirus, when he was summoned into Italy to aid the Tarentines against the Bruttii and Lucani[d]. (Liv. VIII. 24.) Several years after, that is, A. U. C. 558, the same historian acquaints us, that a colony was sent to Sipontum, but it does not appear to have

[c] Sestini describes a gold coin belonging to this city, in which this emblem is apparent. The legend is ΣΙΠΟ. Sestini, Descrizione d'una Med. p. 16.

[d] This passage seems to be corrupt, and for Sipontum we ought perhaps to read Metapontum.

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prospered; for after the lapse of a few years, it was reported to the senate that the town had fallen into a state of complete desolation, upon which a fresh supply of colonists was sent there. (Liv. XXXIV. 45. and XXXIX. 22.) Sipontum is said to have been once dependent upon the city of Arpi. In Strabo's time its harbour could still boast of some trade, particularly in corn, which was conveyed from the interior by means of a considerable stream, which formed a lake near its mouth. (VI. 284.) This river, which Strabo does not name, is probably the Cerbalus of Pliny, (III. 11.) now *Cervaro*[c]. Cerbalus fl. Sipontum is alluded to by Silius Italicus,

> Quæsivit Calaber, subducta luce repente
> Immensis tenebris, et terram et litora Sipus.
> VIII. 634.

and Lucan,

> Quas recipit Salapina palus, et subdita Sipus
> Montibus.
> V. 377.

(Cf. Polyb. Frag. X. 1. Mel. II. 4. Plin. III. 11. Ptol. p. 62. Steph. Byz. v. Σιπούς.)

The ruins of this once flourishing city are said to exist about two miles to the west of *Manfredonia*, the foundation of which led to the final desertion of Sipontum by its inhabitants, as they were transferred by king Manfredi to this modern town, which is known to have risen under his auspices.

We must now direct our attention to the cities

[c] It should be observed, however, that what Pliny says of the Cerbalus, as dividing the Apuli and Daunii, hardly applies to the *Cervaro*, but more to the *Candelaro*, a smaller river, which falls into the same lake; but it is probable that some change has taken place in the course of these rivers.

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Argyrippa postea Arpi.

once situated in the interior of Daunia. Of these the most ancient and celebrated was Arpi, or, as it was first called, Argyrippa. This appellation was supposed to be a modification of Ἄργος Ἵππιον, the name which it received originally from its founder Diomed. The fabulous accounts which represented this celebrated Grecian hero as having abandoned his native soil to found a kingdom in the plains of Apulia, on his alliance with Daunus, sovereign of that country, offered too brilliant a field to the imagination of the poets to be overlooked. Hence the frequent allusions to the Calydonian warrior which we find in all these writers in connection with Daunia and the plains watered by the Aufidus. The earliest is Lycophron, who thus darkly introduces the mention of Argyrippa in Cassandra's prophetic song.

Ὁ δ' Ἀργυρίππαν, Δαυνίαν παγκληρίαν,
Παρ' Αὐσονῖτιν Φυλαμὸν δομήσεται,
Πικρὰν ἑταίρων ἐπτερωμένην ἰδὼν
Οἰωνόμικτον μοῖραν. V. 592.

On which passage the reader may consult the commentary of Tzetzes. Virgil supposes an embassy to be sent to Diomed by the confederate Latins and Rutuli, to demand succours against Æneas.

Vidimus, o cives, Diomede Argivaque castra.
* * * * *
Ille urbem Argyripam, patriæ cognomine gentis,
Victor Gargani condebat Iapygis arvis.
ÆN. XI. 243.

Atque iterum Teucros Ætolis surgit ab Arpis
Tydides. ÆN. X. 28.

As also Ovid, in his Metamorphoses.

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At Venulus magnam profugi Diomedis ad urbem
Venerat. Ille quidem sub Iapyge maxima Dauno
Mœnia condiderat, dotaliaque arva tenebat.
XIV. 457.

(Cf. App. Han. 31. Justin. XX. Plin. III. 11.)

Strabo, who likewise enters at some length on these traditions respecting Diomed, notices the different proofs existing in the country of his migration into Italy; (VI. 28.) but though it cannot be doubted that Arpi, Sipontum, Canusium, and other cities of Daunia, must be considered as very ancient Greek settlements, we cannot, I think, allow their origin as such to go so far back as the Trojan war. With regard to Diomed, I have already had occasion to allude to the stories so current among the Veneti on the subject of that hero, which represented him as the founder of Adria, Spina, and other Tyrrhenian cities[f]. It is certainly remarkable that we should find these legends so extensively circulated from one extremity of the Adriatic to the other; and I think the circumstance is to be accounted for only by the supposition that a celebrated chief of this name really existed at some remote period of Italian history, who founded several cities on the western coast of the Adriatic. (Cf. Scyl. Peripl. p. 6.) From a comparison of the obscure traditions relative to the Tyrrhenian colonies above mentioned with those regarding the foundation of the Apulian cities, we may perhaps be induced to look upon the Italian Diomed as one of those Pelasgic chiefs, who, in a very distant age, formed settlements in various parts of Italy.

That the whole of Daunia was once under the

[f] Vol. i. p. 116.

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control of the Tyrrheni, seems probable from what Dionysius states respecting the great force brought by the Tyrrheni of the Adriatic in their attack on Cumæ, of which the Daunii appear to have formed no inconsiderable part. (VII. 3.) But not to dwell upon a mere conjecture, I would observe, that the remark made by Strabo, respecting the ancient grandeur of Argyrippa and Canusium, the two Apulian towns which more particularly laid claim to the honour of having been founded by Diomed, is very deserving of attention. He says, that from the extent of their circuit it might be inferred that these two cities were the largest of Greek origin in Italy, (Μέγισται τῶν Ἰταλιωτίδων.) (VI. 284.) Is it not singular then, that whilst we have authentic accounts, or nearly so, of the foundation of all the Greek colonies in southern Italy, we should have been left in ignorance respecting the early history of such great and flourishing towns, as from Strabo's observation we must conclude Argyrippa and Canusium to have been? As the position of these two cities, placed at some distance from the sea, and in the midst of extensive and fertile plains, was different from the universally maritime situation of the colonies of Magna Græcia, so in their political existence do they appear to have had little or nothing in common with them. When Arpi is first introduced to our notice in the history of Rome, it is represented as an Apulian city of no great importance, and of which the Romans possessed themselves without difficulty. (Liv. IX. 13.)

In the second Punic war it fell into the hands of Hannibal, after the battle of Cannæ; (Polyb. III. 88. and 118.) but was recovered by the Romans.

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Dasius Altinius[g], one of the principal citizens of the town, offered to admit them secretly; but Fabius, who was then consul, preferred to conduct the enterprise without his cooperation. (Liv. XXIV. 45.)

> At contra Argyripæ pravum decus, (inclita namque
> Semina ab Œnea ductoris stirpe trahebat
> Ætoli,) Dasio fuit haud ignobile nomen.
>
> Sil. Ital. XIII. 30.

We have scarcely any further particulars of the history of Arpi; it was greatly reduced in the time of Strabo, (VI. 283.) but still continued to exist under Constantine as an episcopal see[h]. To the authors already quoted as having noticed this ancient city, we may add Cicero, (ad Att. IX. 3.) Pliny, (III. 11.) Ptolemy, (p. 67.) Stephanus Byz. (v. Ἀργυρίππα.)

It is stated by Pliny, that Diomed, on his arrival in this part of Italy, found it occupied by certain barbarous tribes, named Monades and Dardi, whom he destroyed, together with their towns, Apina and Trica. (III. 11.) Freret supposes that these were Illyrians[i]. Monades. Dardi. Apina. Trica.

Topographers are generally of opinion that the ruins which are observable between *Foggia* and

[g] Antiquaries have not failed to remark, that the coins of Arpi are inscribed with a name which recalls that of this individual: it is in Greek characters ΔΑΞΟΥ, and probably denotes the magistrate of the town. The epigraph is ΑΡΠ. and ΑΡΠΑΝΩΝ. This name of Dasius, with that of Blasius, seems to have been common also to Salapia and Brundusium; both are certainly not Greek, but probably Oscan; and therefore it is evident that these towns had lost much of their Greek character when their history became connected with that of Rome.

[h] Holsten. Adnot. p. 280.

[i] Mem. de l'Acad. t. xviii. p. 75.

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Manfredonia point out the exact situation of Arpi; and they are said still to retain that name[k].

Salapia. Salapia, situated between a lake thence called Salapina palus and the Aufidus, is stated by Strabo to have been the emporium of Arpi. Without such authority we should have fixed upon Sipontum as answering that purpose better from its greater proximity. (VI. 283.) This town also laid claims to a Grecian origin, though not of so remote a date as the Trojan war. The Rhodians, who early distinguished themselves by a spirit of enterprise in navigation, asserted, that among other distant colonies they had founded, in conjunction with some Coans, a city named Salpia, on the Daunian coast. This account of Strabo (XIV. 654.) seems confirmed by Vitruvius, who attributes the formation of this settlement to a Rhodian chief named Elpias[l]. (I. 4.) It is probable, however, that Salapia was at first dependent upon the more powerful town of Arpi, and, like that city, it subsequently lost much of the peculiar character which belonged to the Greek colonies from its intercourse with the natives[m].

We do not hear of Salapia in the Roman history till the second Punic war, when it is represented as falling into the hands of the Carthaginians, after the battle of Cannæ; (Liv. XXIV. 20.) but not long after, it was delivered up to Marcellus by the party

[k] Cluver. Ital. Ant. II. p. 1219. Holsten. Adnot. p. 280. Romanelli, t. ii. p. 220.

[l] See Meursius in Rhod. I. 18.

[m] The coins of Salapia, like those of Arpi, have generally the names of magistrates inscribed, such as ΔΑΞΟΥ, ΠΑΩΤΙΟΥ, ΠΥΛΛΟΥ, with the epigraph ΣΑΛΑΠ. and ΣΑΛΑΠΙΝΩΝ. Sestini, Monet. Vet. p. 15.

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which favoured the Roman interest, together with the garrison which Hannibal had placed there. (Liv. XXVI. 38.) The Carthaginian general seems to have felt the loss of this town severely; and it was probably the desire of revenge which prompted him, after the death and defeat of Marcellus, to adopt the stratagem of addressing letters, sealed with that commander's ring, to the magistrates of the town, in order to obtain admission with his troops. The Salapitani, however, being warned of his design, the attempt proved abortive. (Liv. XXVII. 28. App. Han. 51.) The proximity of Salapia to the lake or marsh already mentioned, is said to have proved so injurious to the health of the inhabitants, that some years after these events they removed nearer the coast, where they built a new town, with the assistance of M. Hostilius, a Roman prætor, who caused a communication to be opened between the lake and the sea. Considerable remains of both towns are still standing at some distance from each other, under the name of *Salpi*, which confirm this account of Vitruvius. (I. 4. Cf. Cic. de Leg. Agr. II. Plin. III. 11. Steph. Byz. v. 'Ελπία.)

Palus Salapina.

The Palus Salapina, now *Lago di Salpi*, is noticed by Lycophron and Lucan.

Ναὸν δέ μοι τεύξουσι Δαυνίων ἄκροι
Σάλπης παρ' ὄχθαις, οἵ τε Δάρδανον πόλιν
Ναίουσι, λίμνης ἀγχιτέρμονες ποτῶν.
LYCOPHR. v. 1128.

Quas recipit Salapina palus, et subdita Sipus
Montibus. LUCAN. V. 377.

Luceria.

In the interior of Daunia, and about twelve miles to the west of Arpi, was Luceria, a town likewise of great antiquity, and said to have been founded by

Diomed, whose offerings to Minerva were still to be seen in the temple of that goddess in the time of Strabo. (VI. 284.) Luceria was the first Apulian city which the Romans appear to have been solicitous to possess; and though it was long an object of contention with the Samnites, they finally secured their conquest, and sent a colony there A. U. C. 440. (Liv. IX. 2. 12. and 26. Diod. Sic. XVIII. Vell. Paterc. I. 14.) We find Luceria afterwards enumerated among those cities which remained the most firm in their allegiance to Rome during the invasion of Hannibal. (Liv. XXVII. 10. Cf. Polyb. III. 88.) In the civil wars of Pompey and Cæsar, Luceria is mentioned by Cicero as a place which the former was anxious to retain, and where he invited Cicero to join him. (ad Att. VIII. 1. Cæs. Civ. Bell. I. 24.) It seems to have been noted for the excellence of its wool, a property indeed which, according to Strabo, was common to the whole of Apulia. (VI. 284.)

> Te lanæ prope nobilem
> Tonsæ Luceriam, non citharæ, decent.
> HOR. III. OD. XV.

(Cf. Plin. III. 11. Ptol. p. 6.) This town still retains its ancient site under the modern name of *Lucera*[n].

Æca. Æca, mentioned by Polybius in his narrative of the operations of Fabius and Hannibal in Apulia, (III. 89. Cf. Liv. IV. 20. and Plin. III. 11.) is to be placed at *Troja*, between *Lucera* and *Bovino*. The latter of these sites probably answers to the

[n] There are coins of Luceria with the Latin epigraph LOUCERI and LUCERI. Sestin. Monet. Vet. p. 15.

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Vibinum of Pliny, (III. 11.) and the Ἰβάνιον or Οἰβάνιον, as we ought perhaps to read, of Polybius. (III. 88.) Ptolemy also notices a town under the name of Οὐιβάνον, which, from its position, appears to correspond with that of *Bovino*. It seems therefore proper to correct this name also in Ptolemy to Οὐιβώνιον. Holstenius affirms having seen at *Bovino* inscriptions, in which the word Vibina was plainly discernible[o]. Vibinum.

Accua is another Apulian town, which, from the statement of Livy, must have been in the vicinity of Luceria; but as no other author has spoken of it more definitively, its precise situation remains uncertain[p]. Accua.

Herdonia, now *Ordona*[q], stood on a branch of the Appian way, and about twelve miles to the east of Æca. Livy states that this town witnessed the defeat of the Roman forces in two successive years, when they were commanded on both occasions by two prætors named Fulvius. (Liv. XXV. 21.) After the last engagement, Hannibal is said to have removed the inhabitants of Herdonia from that place, and to have destroyed it by fire. (Liv. XXVII. 1.) It must however have risen afterwards from this state of ruin, since we find it mentioned as a colony by Frontinus, (de Col.) under the corrupt name of Ardona. Strabo calls it Cerdonia, and places it on the continuation of the Via Egnatia, between Canusium and Beneventum. (VI. 282.) It is also named by Ptolemy, (p. 67.) and Silius Italicus. Herdonia.

[o] Adnot. p. 272.
[p] Romanelli, t. ii. p. 224. D'Anville, Anal. Geogr. de l'Italie, p. 218.
[q] Holsten. Adnot. p. 271.

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. . . . . quosque
Obscura incultis Herdonia misit ab agris.
VIII. 568.

Asculum Apulum.

Asculum, to which the adjective Apulum was commonly attached, to distinguish it from Asculum in Picenum, is doubtless represented by the modern town of *Ascoli*, which is about six miles to the south-west of *Ordona*. It was under the walls of this town that Pyrrhus encountered a second time the Roman army, after having gained a signal victory in Lucania. The historians who have recorded this action describe it as being obstinately contested, but attended with no decisive advantage to either side. (Flor. I. 18. Plut. Pyrrh. Zonar. Ann. II. Front. Strateg. I. 3.) Asculum is also noticed by Appian (Bell. Civ. I. 52.) and Pliny. (III. 11.) Frontinus, who classes it among the colonies of Apulia, terms it Ausclum[r].

Cirignola, a small town between *Ascoli* and *Canosa*, is supposed by Romanelli[s] to represent Cerau-
Cerau-nilia nilia, an obscure place, mentioned by Diodorus Sic. in his account of the wars between the Romans and Samnites. (XX. 26.)

Venusia.

On the great Appian way, leading to Tarentum, was Venusia, now *Venosa*, situated about fifteen miles to the south of the Aufidus. This town appears to have been a Roman colony of some importance before the war against Pyrrhus. (Dion. Hal. Excerpt. Legat. Vell. Paterc. I. 14.)

[r] And this probably is the correct mode of writing the name of this town, as may be seen from its coins, the inscription of which is ΑΥCΚΑΙΩΝ, and ΑΥCΚΑ. Sestini, Let. Numis. t. ii. p. 3. and Monet. Vet. p. 15.

[s] T. ii. p. 259.

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. . . . . Sequor hunc, Lucanus an Appulus, anceps:
Nam Venusinus arat finem sub utrumque colonus,
Missus ad hoc, pulsis, vetus est ut fama, Sabellis,
Quo ne per vacuum Romano incurreret hostis:
Sive quod Appula gens, seu quod Lucania bellum
Incuteret violenta. HOR. II. SAT. 1.

After the disaster at Cannæ, it afforded a retreat to the consul Varro, and the handful of men who escaped from that bloody field. The services rendered by the Venusini on that occasion obtained for them afterwards the special thanks and eulogium of the Roman senate. (Liv. XXII. 54. XXVII. 10.) Venusia deserves our attention still more, from the associations which connect it with the name of Horace, who was born there, under the consuls L. Manlius Torquatus and L. Aurelius Cotta, A. U. C. 688, a circumstance to which he alludes in one of his odes.

O nata mecum consule Manlio,
Seu tu querelas, sive geris jocos,
Seu rixam, et insanos amores,
Seu facilem, pia testa, somnum.
III. Od. 21.

We may infer from Strabo, that this town was in a flourishing state in his day. (V. 250.) Mention of it is also made by Cicero[t], (ad Att. V. Ep. 5.) Appian, (Civ. Bell. I. 39.) Pliny, (III. 11.) and Ptolemy. (p. 67.)

The country around Venusia has acquired also

[t] The coins of Venusia have on the reverse the inscription VE. and an eagle resting on a thunderbolt. On the obverse, a head of Jupiter, and sometimes of Bacchus. Sestini, Monet. Vet. p. 15. On the other numerous antiquities of this town, there are two voluminous works by Cimaglia and bishop Lupoli, entitled, Antiquitates Venusinæ Neap. 1747. 4to. and Iter Venusinum. Neap. 1793. 4to.

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interest from the references made by Horace to several places in the immediate vicinity of that town. The fountain of Bandusia, so well known from the little ode,

> O fons Bandusiæ splendidior vitro,
> Dulci digne mero, non sine floribus,
> Cras donaberis hœdo. — III. 13.

was thought by all the commentators of the poet to exist near his Sabine farm, until the abbé Chaupy proved beyond a doubt, from several ecclesiastical records, wherein the "fons Bandusinus" is described as situated near Venusia, that we ought to restore it to its true position, about six miles from *Venosa*, on the site named *Palazzo*[u].

Mons Vultur.

To the south of *Venosa* rises *Monte Vulture*, anciently Mons Vultur, no less celebrated from another Ode by the same poet.

> Me fabulosæ Vulture in Appulo,
> Altricis extra limen Apuliæ,
> Ludo fatigatumque somno,
> Fronde nova puerum palumbes
> Texere. — III. 4.

It is also noticed by Lucan in a passage already quoted. (IX. 182.) From the conical shape of this mountain, and its mineralogical character, naturalists have inferred that it is an extinct volcano[v].

In the same ode in which Horace alludes to mount Vultur, he also incidentally adverts to three towns which must have been situated in its vicinity.

[u] Chaupy, Dec. de la Mais. de Camp. d'Horace, t. iii. p. 538.

[v] Tata Lett. sul Vulture. Minervino Etimol. del M. Vulture.

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. . . . . mirum quod foret omnibus,
Quicumque celsæ nidum Acherontiæ,
Saltusque Bantinos, et arvum
Pingue tenent humilis Ferenti.

Of these, Ferentum, or Forentum, as Pliny writes it, (III. 11.) is doubtless *Forenza*, about eight miles south of *Venosa*, and on the other side of mount Vultur. This town is also mentioned by Diodorus Siculus. (XIX. 65.) Ferentum.

Bantia must be placed more to the east, and higher up towards the mountains. This town derives some interest from the death of the brave Marcellus, who fell in its vicinity a victim of the stratagem of his more cool and wily adversary. The scene of this event is laid by Livy between Venusia and Bantia, and the ground is said to agree with the historian's description of Hannibal's ambuscade. (Liv. XXVII. 25. Cf. App. Han. 50. Plut. Marcell. Cic. Tusc. Disp. I. 37.) Bantia is also noticed by Pliny, (III. 11.) but as a town of Lucania, and by Stephanus Byz. (v. Βάντια.) Bantia.

Acherontia, now *Acerenza*, was situated, as Horace describes it, on an almost inaccessible hill, south of *Forenza*[z]. It is called Acherontum by Livy, who mentions it as a strong place of Apulia, taken by the consul C. Junius Bubulcus, A. U. C. 437. (Liv. IX. 20.) Procopius notices it also as a fortress of very great strength. (Bell. Got. III.) Acherontia.

North of Venusia, *Rapolla* seems to answer to the Strapellum of Pliny. (III. 11.) Strapellum.

On the right bank of the Aufidus, and about twelve miles from its mouth, was Canusium, on the Canusium.

[z] Romanelli, t. ii. p. 238.

origin of which I have before had occasion to make some remarks, when speaking on the subject of Arpi. Like that town, Canusium seems to belong to a period which reaches far beyond the records of Roman history, and of which we possess no memorials but what a fabulous tradition has conveyed to us. I have already cited the passage in which Strabo alludes to the former extent and flourishing condition of this ancient city [a]; and I may observe here, that his account seems fully confirmed by the splendid remains of antiquity discovered among the ruins of *Canosa*, and which, together with its coins, establish the fact of its Grecian origin [b]. Horace probably alludes to the latter circumstance, when he says,

..... Canusini more bilinguis.
I. Sat. 10.

The first notice we have of Canusium, in the Roman history, is towards the close of the Samnite war, A. U. C. 436. when Livy informs us, that on the advance of the Roman army into Apulia, the people of Canusium and Teanum were induced to submit, and send hostages to the consuls. (IX. 20.)

It is stated subsequently, that the small remnant of the Roman army which escaped from the slaughter

[a] It is said by those who have traced the circuit of the walls of Canusium from the remaining vestiges, that they must have embraced a circumference of sixteen miles. Pratilli, Via Appia, l. iv. c. 13. Chaupy, Dec. &c. t. iii. p. 503. Romanelli, t. ii. p. 265.

[b] Antiquaries dwell with rapture on the elegance and beauty of the Greek vases of *Canosa*, which in point of size, numbers, and decoration, far surpass those discovered in the tombs of any other ancient city, not even excepting Nola. Millingen, Peintures antiques des Vases Grecs, &c.

The medals of Canusium, in silver and bronze, have the inscription KA. KANT. and KANTΣINΩN, with a head of Hercules or a vase, and clusters of grapes. Sestini, Lett. Numis. t. iii. 5. and Monet. Vet. p. 15.

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at Cannæ, took refuge here. Livy records the generous treatment they experienced on that occasion from Busa, a wealthy lady of this city. (XXII. 52. and 54. App. Han. 26.)

> Jam Latius sese Canusina in mœnia miles
> Colligere, et profugos vicino cingere vallo,
> Cœperat.— SIL. ITAL. X. 389.

Frontinus reckons Canusium among the Roman colonies, but without assigning a date to fix the time of its becoming one. Philostratus however informs us, (Vit. Sophist.) that Hadrian certainly colonized the town, and procured for it a supply of good water, of which it stood much in need, as we know from Horace.

> Nam Canusi lapidosus: aquæ non ditior urna
> Qui locus a forti Diomede est conditus olim.
> I. SAT. 5.

Other references to this place will be found in Cicero, ad Att. VIII. Ep. 11. Cæs. Civ. Bell. I. 24. Mel. II. 4. Plin. III. 11. Ptol. p. 67. Steph. Byz. v. Κανύσιον.

Cannæ. The celebrated village of Cannæ was situated about five miles from Canusium towards the sea, and at no great distance from the Aufidus. Polybius tells us, that as a town, it was destroyed the year before the battle was fought. The citadel however was preserved, and the circumstance of its occupation by Hannibal seems to have been regarded by the Romans of sufficient importance to cause them considerable uneasiness and annoyance. It commanded indeed all the adjacent country, and was the principal southern depot of stores and provisions on which they had depended for the approaching campaign.

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(Polyb. III. 107. Liv. XXII. 43. App. Han. 19. Plin. III. 11. Procop. Rer. Got. III.)

> Ut ventum ad Cannas, urbis vestigia priscæ,
> Defigunt diro signa infelicia vallo.
>
> SIL. ITAL. VIII. 624.

It will not be necessary to dwell here on the memorable engagement to which this spot owes all its fame, as the accounts of Polybius and Livy are so clear and intelligible as to require no commentary. The field of battle was the plain between Cannæ and the Aufidus, on which river the Roman army rested its right wing, whilst it flanked that of the Carthaginians on their left. The former also fronted the south, while the latter had Canusium in their rear, as well as the chain of Mount Vultur; from which the wind, called Vulturnus, blew with such violence in the face of their adversaries. These plains, so fatal to the Roman legions, are said to have been previously known by the appellation of Campi Diomedis.

Campi Diomedis.

> . . . . . diva ducente petamus
> Infaustum Phrygibus Diomedis nomine campum.
>
> SIL. ITAL. VIII. 242.

Vergellus fl. (Cf. Liv. XXV. 11. Strab. VI. 283.) The Vergellus, a rivulet which crossed the plain, is said to have been choked with the dead bodies of the Romans. (Flor. II. 6. Val. Max. IX. 2.)

Aufidus fl. The Aufidus, now *Ofanto*, a more considerable river, derives also much of its celebrity from that decisive defeat. (Flor. II. 6.) Polybius remarks of this stream, that it is the only one which, rising on the western side of the Apennines, finds its way through that continuous chain into the Adriatic. But it may

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be doubted whether that historian speaks here with his usual accuracy. It is certain that the Aufidus cannot be said to penetrate entirely through the chain of those mountains, since it rises on one side of it, while the Silarus flows from the other. (Polyb. III. 110.) The rapidity of its course is often alluded to by Horace.

Sic tauriformis volvitur Aufidus,
Qui regna Dauni præfluit Appuli,
Cum sævit, horrendamque cultis
Diluviem meditatur agris. IV. Od. 14.

Dicar, qua violens obstrepat Aufidus,
Et qua pauper aquæ Daunus agrestium
Regnavit populorum. — III. Od. 30.

Ne forte credas interitura, quæ
Longe sonantem natus ad Aufidum,
Non ante vulgatas per artes
Verba loquor socianda chordis. IV. Od. 9.

It is also named by Virgil and Silius Italicus.

Amnis et Hadriacas retro fugit Aufidus undas.
Æn. XI. 405.

Sanguineus tumidas in campos Aufidus undas
Ejectat, redditque furens sua corpora ripis.
Sil. Ital. X. 320.

That the Aufidus was navigable we learn from Strabo, who states that the Canusitæ had established an emporium at no great distance from its mouth. (VI. 283. Cf. Plin. III. 11. Mel. II. 4.)

PEUCETIA.

Next to the Dauni were the Peucetii, who, if the opinion of Dionysius of Halicarnassus is to be adopted, derived their name from Peucetius, son of Lycaon,

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king of Arcadia, who with his brother Œnotrus migrated to Italy seventeen generations before the siege of Troy. But modern critics have felt little disposed to give credit to a story, the improbability of which is so very apparent, whether we look to the country from whence these pretended settlers are said to have come, or the state of navigation at so remote a period[c]. Had the Peucetii and Œnotri really been of Grecian origin, Dionysius might have adduced better evidence of the fact than the genealogies of the Arcadian chiefs, cited from Pherecydes. The most respectable authority he could have brought forward on this point would unquestionably have been that of Antiochus the Syracusan; but this historian is only quoted by him in proof of the antiquity of the Œnotri, not of their Grecian descent. (Dion. Hal. I. 12: Cf. Strab. VI. 283. Plin. III. 11.) The Peucetii are always spoken of in history, even by the Greeks themselves, as barbarians, who differed in no essential respect from the Daunii, Iapyges, and other neighbouring nations. (Pausan. Phoc. Strab. VI. 281. and 285. Diog. Laert. vit. Pyth.) The

Pœdiculi.

name of Pœdiculi was given to the inhabitants of that portion of Peucetia, which was more particularly situated on the coast between the Aufidus and the confines of the Calabri. It is stated by Pliny, that this particular tribe derived their origin from Illyria. (III. 11. Strab. VI. 277.) The Peucetii appear then to have extended along the coast of the Adriatic, from the Aufidus to the neighbourhood of Brundusium, which belonged to Iapygia; and in the

[c] See the remarks of Freret on this point. Mem. de l'Acad. t. xviii. p. 87.

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interior, their territory reached as far as Silvium in the Apennines, constituting principally what in modern geography is called *Terra di Bari.*

Omitting the mention of several places known only from the Itineraries, the first town of note we meet with on the coast, after leaving the Aufidus, is Barium, now *Bari.* It is referred to by Livy, (XL. 18.) by Horace in his journey to Brundusium, Barium.

> Postera tempestas melior, via pejor, ad usque
> Bari mœnia piscosi. — I. Sat. 5.

and by Strabo; (VI. 283.) and Tacitus informs us it was a municipium [d]. (Ann. XV. Cf. Plin. III. 11. Front. de Col.)

Further on was Apanestæ, the name of which appears in the Itinerary of Antoninus under the corrupt form of Arnesto. It is supposed to have stood on the site now occupied by the abbey of *S. Vito* [e]. This ancient town is noticed by Pliny (III. 11.) and Ptolemy. (p. 62.) Apanestæ.

Within a mile of the site which has been assigned to Apanestæ, and on the coast, is *Polignano,* a modern town of some note, and an episcopal see; but which may now boast of a Grecian origin, since the discovery of several remains of antiquity in its vicinity, and more especially of numerous coins, leaves no doubt of the former existence of a Greek colony named Neapolis on this spot, though history had left us entirely ignorant of such a fact. The abbé Romanelli, in his interesting account of this discovery, Neapolis.

[d] The medals of Barium have on one side a head of Jupiter, on the other a figure of Cupid seated at the prow of a vessel, and shooting an arrow. The inscription is BAPIN and BAPINΩN. Sestini, Monet. Vet. p. 15. Romanelli, t. ii. p. 159.

[e] Romanelli, t. ii. p. 154.

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proves this point very satisfactorily from the various antique monuments excavated here; but he is not equally happy in applying to this town a passage of Polybius, where that historian, describing the operations which preceded the battle of Cannæ, relates that Hannibal occupied the citadel of that place. (III. 107.) The learned antiquary, after observing that the MSS. and early editions read καινῆς πόλεως ἄκραν, which Casaubon altered to Κάννης πόλεως ἄκραν, contends that the old reading is right, and that the town alluded to is the Neapolis of Apulia[f]. But this supposition is inadmissible for several reasons. Polybius clearly intimates that the fortress seized by Hannibal was in the immediate neighbourhood of Canusium, whereas *Polignano* is at least fifty miles from that city. 2dly, That historian never would have designated by the term καινὴ πόλις, a town whose legitimate name was Νεάπολις: finally, we can have no doubt that Cannæ was here signified by Polybius, from his allusion to the previous destruction of the town, a circumstance confirmed by Silius Italicus.

Ut ventum ad Cannas, urbis vestigia priscæ.
VIII. 624.

Egnatia.

Further on the coast was Egnatia, which communicated its name to the consular way that followed the coast from Canusium to Brundusium. (Strab. VI. 282.) Its ruins are still apparent near the *Torre*

[f] Romanelli, t. ii. p. 152. The coins of this city are distinguished from those of the more celebrated Campanian Neapolis, by the inscription in Doric Greek ΝΕΑΠ. whereas the latter have the name always written according to the Attic form, ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ. The types of the former are generally a head of Bacchus and Thyrsus, and on the reverse, vine leaves and bunches of grapes. Sestini, Lett. Numis. t. vi. p. 1.

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d'Agnazzo and the town of *Monopoli* [g]. Pliny states, that a certain stone was shewn at Egnatia, which was said to possess the property of setting fire to wood that was placed upon it. (II. 107.) It was this prodigy, seemingly, which afforded so much amusement to Horace.

> . . . . . dehinc Gnatia lymphis
> Iratis extructa dedit risusque jocosque;
> Dum flamma sine, thura liquescere limine sacro
> Persuadere cupit: credat Judæus Apella,
> Non ego. — I. Sat. 5.

(Cf. Mel. II. 4. Plin. III. 11. Ptol. p. 62. Front. de Col.)

In the interior of Peucetia we may notice the following towns; Rubi, now *Ruvo*, to which Horace refers, Rubi.

> Inde Rubos fessi pervenimus; utpote longum
> Carpentes iter, et factum corruptius imbri.
> I. Sat. 5.

as well as Pliny. (III. 11.) and Frontinus [h], (de Col.)

Rhudiæ, which must not be confounded with the more celebrated town of the same name in Calabria, is placed in the Tabula Theodosiana between Canusium and Rubi, probably on a road which branched off from the Via Egnatia at the former place, and fell Rhudiæ Peucetiæ.

[g] Pratilli, Via Appia, l. iv. c. 16. Romanelli, t. ii. p. 143.

[h] For an account of some interesting discoveries made near *Ruvo*, see Romanelli, t. ii. p. 172. The medals of Rubi represent on one side a head of Minerva or of Jove, on the reverse, an owl on a branch. The epigraph has the several variations, ΡΤ. ΡΤΒΑ. ΡΤΥ. and ΡΤΒΑΣΤΕΙΝΩΝ. Sestini, Descriz. delle Med. Grec. Mus. del. Princ. di Dan. p. 3. and Monet Vet. p. 15.

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into it again at the latter. Pliny and Mela both allude to this town of Peucetia. (Plin. III. 11. Mel. II. 4.) Romanelli places it at *Andria*[i].

Butuntum. Butuntum[k], also on the Via Egnatia beyond Rubi,

Palio. is now *Bitonto*. (Plin. III. 11. Front. de Col.) Palio, only mentioned by Pliny, (III. 11.) is now *Palo*,

Grumum. situated about four miles from *Bitonto*. Grumum, the inhabitants of which are the Grumbestini of the same writer, (III. 11.) is easily recognised in the village of *Grumo*, not far from *Palo*[l].

Celia. Celia, which, according to Strabo, stood on the Via Egnatia, (VI. 282.) and is ranked by Ptolemy (p. 67.) with the inland towns of Peucetia, is now *Ceglie*, nine miles beyond *Bitonto*[m].

Azetium. Azetium, the inhabitants of which are the Ægetini of Pliny, (III. 11.) doubtless answers to the Ehetium of the Tabula Theodosiana, and probably to the Netium of Strabo, (VI. 282.) as Holstenius suspected[n]. According to Romanelli, it is now *Rotigliano*[o].

Norba. Norba, the people of which are called Norbanenses by Pliny, (III. 11.) is also placed in the Table on

[i] T. ii. p. 170.

[k] The form of this name appears Latinized from the Greek Βυτοῦς, or Βυτόεις. The inscription on the medals of Butuntum is BTTONTINΩN. Sestini, Lett. Numis, t. vi. p. 6. Monet. Vet. p. 15. Romanelli, t. ii. p. 176.

[l] Romanelli, t. ii. p. 173. Antiquaries are now agreed in ascribing to this place those coins which have the figure of a horse at speed, and the epigraph ΓΡΤ. which Eckhel and others assigned to Grumentum in Lucania. Avellin. Giorn. Numis. Lucan. N°. 3. p. 5. Sestini, Monet. Vet. p. 5.

[m] Holsten. Adnot. p. 276. Romanelli, t. ii. p. 177.

[n] Adnot. p. 276.

[o] The name of this town is proved to be Azetium by its medals, the inscription of which is AΞE or AΞETINΩN. These coins commonly represent on one side an eagle with wings expanded, perched on a thunderbolt; on the other, an ear of corn. Sestini, Lett. Numis. t. vi. p. 5. Monet. Vet. p. 15.

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the same road, and at the distance of sixteen miles from Egnatia. This ancient site therefore answers nearly to that of *Conversano*[p].

Pliny enumerates the Tutini among the people of Apulia; but as there are no vestiges of such a name, it seems more natural to correct the text of that author, and read Turini, as we find a small place called *Turo* at no great distance from *Conversano*, which is said to retain several marks of antiquity[q]. Turini.

In the Apennines we find Silvium, mentioned by Strabo, as standing on the confines of Peucetia, towards the interior of Italy. (VI. 283.) This town is also noticed by Pliny (III. 11.) and Diodorus Sic. (XX.) It was situated on the Appian way, as we learn from the Itineraries; and Holstenius and Pratilli agree in fixing its position at *Garagnone*, about fifteen miles to the south-west of *Venosa*[r]. Silvium.

Further south we must place Mateola, (Plin. III. 11.) now *Matera*, according to Holstenius[s]. Genusium (Plin. III. 11. Front. Frag. de Limit.) is with great probability supposed to be the modern *Ginosa*, a town with an episcopal see, and not far from the *Bradano*[t]. Mateola. Genusium.

IAPYGIA.

All that now remains of Apulia may very properly be classed under the head of Iapygia, comprising the whole of that remarkable peninsula, which encloses the gulf of Tarentum to the north-

[p] Romanelli, t. ii. p. 179.
[q] Id. t. ii. p. 180.
[r] Holsten. Adnot. p. 281. Pratilli, Via Appia, l. iv. c. 7.
[s] Adnot. in Ortel. Thes. Pratilli, Via Appia, l. iv. c. 7.
[t] Holsten. Adnot. p. 290.

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east, and which has not been inaptly termed, by modern geographers, the heel of the boot, with reference to the entire continent of Italy. It must at the same time be observed, that I include in this name the Calabri and the Sallentini, Messapia, and finally the city of Tarentum and its territory.

I have already remarked, that the name of Iapygia was not known to the Romans, except as an appellation borrowed from the Greeks, to whom it was familiar. Among the many traditions current with the latter people, may be reckoned their derivation of this name from Iapyx, the son of Dædalus. (Antioch. Syrac. ap. Strab. VI. 279. Plin. III. 11.) Considering this story, however, as belonging rather to fable than history, I may observe, that though we have no positive evidence regarding the origin of the Iapyges, their existence on these shores, prior to the arrival of any Grecian colony, is recognised by the earliest writers of that nation, such as Herodotus (VII. 170.) and Hellanicus of Lesbos. (ap. Dion. Hal. I. 22.) Thucydides evidently considered them as barbarians, (VII. 33.) as well as Scylax, in his Periplus, (p. 5.) and Pausanias; (Phocic. X. 10.) and this in fact is the idea which we must form of this people, whether we look upon them as descended from an Umbrian, Oscan, or Illyrian race, or from an intermixture of these earliest Italian tribes [u].

[u] Very little is known of the language of this people; but from a curious old inscription found near *Otranto*, and first published by Galateo, in his History of Iapygia, it appears to have been a mixture of Greek and Oscan. Lanzi, t. iii. p. 620. Romanelli, t. ii. p. 51. It may also be noticed, that the name of the Iapyges appears in one of the Eugubian Tables, under the form Iapuscom; which might lead us to suppose that some connection once existed between this people and the Umbri. See Lanzi, t. iii. p. 663.

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We are not informed at what period the name of Iapygia began to be superseded by that of Apulia; but we may observe, that even the latest Greek writers always designate this part of Italy by the former appellation.

The district occupied by the Calabri seems to have been that maritime part of the Iapygian peninsula extending from Brundusium to the city of Hydruntum, answering nearly to what is now called *Terra di Lecce*. This branch of the Iapygian race does not seem to have been particularly distinguished by the Greeks, at least we do not find it noticed by any writer of that nation anterior to Polybius (Frag. X. 1.) and Strabo. (VI. 277.) Calabri.

The most ancient and celebrated town on this coast was Brundusium, or Brundisium, as the name was sometimes written, now *Brindisi*. By the Greeks it was called Βρεντέσιον, a word which in the Messapian language signified a stag's head, from the resemblance which its different harbours and creeks bore to the antlers of that animal. (Strab. VI. 282. Fest. v. Brundisium. Steph. Byz. v. Βρεντήσιον.) It is not necessary to repeat the various accounts given by different writers respecting the foundation of this city; its antiquity is evident from the statement of Strabo, that Brundusium was already in existence, and under the government of its own princes, when the Lacedæmonian Phalanthus arrived with his colony in this part of Italy. It is recorded also, to the honour of the Brundusians, that although this chief had been instrumental in depriving them of a great portion of their territory, they generously afforded him an asylum when he was exiled from Tarentum, and after his death erected a splendid monument to Brundusium.

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his memory. (Strab. VI. 282. Aristot. Polit. V. 3. Justin. III. 4.)

The advantageous situation of its harbour for communicating with the opposite coast of Greece, naturally rendered Brundusium a place of great resort, from the time that the colonies of that country had fixed themselves on the shores of Italy. Herodotus speaks of it as a place generally well known, when he compares the Tauric Chersonese to the Iapygian peninsula, which might be considered as included between the harbours of Brundusium and Tarentum. (IV. 99.) Brundusium soon became a formidable rival to Tarentum, which had hitherto engrossed all the commerce of this part of Italy; (Polyb. Frag. XI.) nor did the facilities which it afforded for extending their conquests out of that country escape the penetrating views of the Romans. Under the pretence that several towns on this coast had favoured the invasion of Pyrrhus, they declared war against them, and soon possessed themselves of Brundusium, (Zonar. Ann. III.) whither a colony was sent A. U. C. 508. (Flor. I. 20. Liv. Epit. XIX. Vell. Paterc. I. 14.) From this period, the prosperity of this port continued to increase in proportion with the greatness of the Roman empire. Large fleets were always stationed there for the conveyance of troops into Macedonia, Greece, or Asia; and from the convenience of its harbour, and its facility of access from every other part of Italy, it became a place of general thoroughfare for travellers visiting those countries.

When the rapid advance of Cæsar forced Pompey to remove the seat of war into Epirus, he was for some time blockaded by his successful adversary in

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Brundusium, before the return of his fleet enabled him to evacuate the place, and carry his troops over to the opposite coast. Cæsar describes accurately the works undertaken there by his orders, for preventing the escape of his enemy. From his account we learn that it possessed two harbours, one called the interior, the other the exterior, communicating by a very narrow passage. (Cæs. Bell. Civ. I. 25. App. Civ. Bell. II. 49. Cic. ad Att. IX. 12. et seq.)

. . . . . curvique tenens Minoïa tecta
Brundusii, clausas ventis brumalibus undas
Invenit, et pavidas hiberno sidere classes.

LUCAN. V. 406.

Urbs est Dictæis olim possessa colonis,
Quos Creta profugos vexere per æquora puppes
Cecropiæ, victum mentitis Thesea velis.
Hinc latus angustum jam se cogentis in artum
Hesperiæ, tenuem producit in æquora linguam,
Hadriacas flexis claudit quæ cornibus undas.
Nec tamen hoc artis immissum faucibus æquor
Portus erat, si non violentos insula Coros
Exciperet saxis, lassasque refunderet undas.
Hinc illinc montes scopulosæ rupis aperto
Opposuit natura mari, flatusque removit,
Ut tremulo starent contentæ fune carinæ.
Hinc late patet omne fretum, seu vela ferantur
In portus, Corcyra, tuos, seu læva petatur
Illyris Iönias vergens Epidamnus in undas.

ID. II. 610.

Strabo considered the harbour of Brundusium as superior to that of Tarentum, for the latter was not free from shoals[x]. (VI. 282. Cf. Mel. II. 4. and 7. Plin. III. 11. Ptol. p. 62.)

[x] See Pigonati, Mem. del riaprimento del port. di *Brindisi*. Nap. 4to. 1781. Pratilli, Via Appia, l. iv. c. 17. Roma-

It was here that a convention was held for the purpose of arranging the existing differences between Augustus and Marc Antony. (Dio. Cass. XLVIII.) Among the commissioners appointed by the former was Mecænas, who was accompanied on the occasion by Horace. It was this journey which produced that humorous satire to which I have so often alluded, and which terminates with the poet's arrival at the place of his destination.

Brundusium finis longæ chartæque viæque.
I. Sat. 5.

Pactius fl.

Beyond Brundusium is a little stream which Pliny calls Pactius; (III. 11.) in the Tabula Theodosiana it is written Pastum. According to Romanelli, it answers to a cut or ditch, named *Canale del Cefalo.*

Valetium sive Baletium.

A few miles further is Valetium, or Baletium; (Mel. II. 4. Plin. III. 11.) the ruins of which, according to a native antiquary, were to be seen, when he wrote his description of them, about three miles from the sea, and eight from Brundusium[y]. It is probable that Strabo alludes to this place under the corrupt name of Salepia, instead of Baletia[z]. (VI. 282.)

Statio Miltopæ.

The naval station termed by Pliny "Statio Miltopæ," is supposed to accord with the site of *Torre di S. Cataldo.* Pausanias describes a harbour on

nelli, t. ii. p. 75. The Greek medals of Brundusium, published by Goltzius, are generally thought to be spurious. The Latin coins, with the epigraph BRUN. are common. Sestini, Monet. Vet. p. 15.

[y] Ant. de Ferrariis, Galat. de situ Iapygiæ, p. 81.

[z] D'Anville, Anal. Geogr. de l'Ital. p. 228. and a note in the French Strabo on the above passage.

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this coast as the work of Hadrian, which may be the haven of Pliny. (Pausan. Eliac. II. c. 19.)

Lecce, situated about six miles from the coast, and which now communicates its name to a portion of the modern province of *Puglia*, is a town apparently of great antiquity, and noticed by ancient writers under the various appellations of Sybaris, Lycium, and Lupiæ. A remarkable passage relative to this place occurs in Pausanias, where that author describes the different treasuries erected by different cities in the temple of Olympia. In naming that of the Sybaritæ, he observes, that those writers who had made the origin of the towns of Italy their peculiar study, remarked that this Sybaris was no other than Lupiæ, situated between Brundusium and Hydruntum, which had thus changed its name. (Pausan. Eliac. II. 19.) Strabo also perhaps alluded to this city, when he mentions that tradition assigned to the Rhodians the foundation of Sybaris on the Teuthras[a]. (VI. 264.) This writer, however, elsewhere designates it by the more common name of Lupiæ. (VI. 282. Cf. Mel. II. 4. Plin. III. 11. Ptol. p. 62. Front. de Col.) Appian states, that Augustus resided here for some days after his return to Italy, on hearing of the death of Cæsar. (Civ. Bell. III. 10.) The name of Lycium, from which that of *Lecce* seems to have been formed, is only found in deeds and writings of the middle ages[b]. Sybaris postea Lupiæ.

Almost contiguous to this city was that of Rhudiæ, rendered celebrated by the birth of Ennius. Rhudiæ Calabræ.

[a] Heyne, Opusc. Acad. t. ii. p. 261. Romanelli, t. ii. p. 83.

[b] Ant. de Ferar. Galat. de situ Iapygiæ, p. 81. D'Anville, Anal. Geogr. de l'Italie, p. 238.

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Ennius antiqua Messapi ab origine regis,
. . . . . .
Miserunt Calabri; Rhudiæ genuere vetustæ:
Nunc Rhudiæ solo memorabile nomen alumno.
SIL. ITAL. XII. 393.

. . . . . non celeres fugæ,
Rejectæque retrorsum Hannibalis minæ;
Non incendia Carthaginis impiæ,
Ejus, qui domita nomen ab Africa
Lucratus rediit, clarius indicant
Laudes, quam Calabræ Pierides.
HOR. IV. OD. 8.

Ennius emeruit, Calabris in montibus ortus,
Contiguus poni, Scipio magne, tibi.
OVID. ART. AM. III. 409.

Strabo speaks also of Rhudiæ as the birthplace of Ennius, and styles it a Grecian city. (VI. 281. Ptol. p. 62. Steph. Byz. v. Ῥοδαί.) According to an antiquary already cited, the remains of Rhudiæ, still known by the name of *Ruge*, were to be seen close to those of Lupiæ; he also states, that these towns were so near each other, that they might be said to form but one[b].

A little rivulet marked in the Tabula Theodosiana between *Lecce* and *Otranto*, may be supposed to represent the Iapyx of Pliny[c]. (III. 11.) The Portus Tarentinus of the same author retains some trace of its original Greek appellation in that of *Limene*, which now denotes a lake situated somewhat to the north of *Otranto*, and communicating with the sea by a narrow creek[d].

Iapyx fl.

Portus Tarentinus.

Fratuertium, mentioned by Pliny (III. 11.) as a

Fratuertium.

[b] Ant. de Ferar. de sit. Iapyg. p. 77. D'Anville, Anal. Geogr. de l'Italie, p. 230.

[c] Romanelli, t. ii. p. 104.

[d] Ant. de Ferar. p. 57. Cluver. Ital. Ant. II. p. 1243.

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town of this district, remains undiscovered. Its name occurs also in an ancient inscription cited by Romanelli[e].

Otranto, anciently Hydrus, or Hydruntum, was a port of some note as early as the time of Scylax, who names it in his Periplus. (p. 5.) It was deemed the nearest point of Italy to Greece, the distance being only fifty miles, and the passage might be effected in five hours. (Cic. ad Att. XV. 21.) This circumstance led Pyrrhus, as it is said, to form the project of uniting the two coasts by a bridge, thrown across from Hydruntum to Apollonia. (Plin. III. 11.) In Strabo's time, Hydruntum was only a small town, though its harbour was still frequented. (VI. 281. Cf. Liv. XXXVI. 21. Cic. ad Fam. XVI. Ep. 9. Mel. II. 4. Ptol. p. 62. Front. de Col.) Stephanus Byz. records a tradition from which it would appear that Hydruntum was founded by some Cretans[f]. (v. Βένος et Ὑδροῦς.) Hydrus vel Hydruntum.

The little river *Idro*, which runs close to the town of *Otranto*, was also called Hydrus. Hydrus fl.

> Et cunctas revocare rates, quas avius Hydrus,
> Antiquusque Taras, secretaque litora Leucæ,
> Quas recipit Salapina palus, et subdita Sipus
> Montibus. LUCAN. V. 374.

In the interior of Iapygia, which, properly speaking, seems to have been the territory of the Messapii, we may notice Carminianum, now *Carmiano*, named in the Notitia dign. Imper[g]. Messapii. Carminianum.

[e] T. ii. p. 106.

[f] On the antiquities of *Otranto*, see Anton. de Ferar. p. 87. The coins of Hydrus, published by Goltzius, have not till lately been considered as genuine. They represent Hercules with the lion's skin, and are inscribed ΤΑΡ. and ΤΑΡΩΝΤΙΝΩΝ. Mazzocchi, Diatr. I. ad Tab. Heracl. sect. 4. Romanelli, t. ii. p. 107.

[g] Holsten. Adnot. p. 284.

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Sturnium. Sturnium, the inhabitants of which are the Sturnini of Pliny, (III. 11.) is placed by Cluverius at *Sternaccio*, south of *Lecce*[h]; this accords also with the position assigned to this ancient town by Ptolemy. (p. 62.)

Hyria. In the more northern part of the peninsula was Hyria, now *Oria*, between *Brindisi* and *Tarento*, a town apparently of great antiquity, since its foundation is ascribed by Herodotus to some Cretans, who formed part of an expedition to avenge the death of Minos, who perished in Sicily, whither he went in pursuit of Dædalus. After the failure of this second enterprise, the remaining Cretans, as Herodotus relates, being wrecked on their return home near the shores of Iapygia, settled there, and founded the city of Hyria, together with other colonies; and from their intermixing with the natives of the country, these Cretans were henceforth called Iapygian Messapians. It was this circumstance probably which gave rise to the notion that the Iapygians were a colony of Crete. The same historian relates, that the Tarentines made several attempts to destroy these Cretan settlements, but that on one occasion they, with their allies, the people of Rhegium, met with so signal an overthrow, that their loss in the field was greater than had ever before been experienced by any Grecian city. (Herod. VII. 171.)

Strabo, in his description of Iapygia, does not fail to cite this passage of Herodotus, but he seems un-

[h] Antiquaries ascribe to this town the coins with the scollop-shell on one side, and an eagle grasping a thunderbolt on the other, having the legend ΣΤΤ. Sestini, Lett. Numis. t. vi. 1, p. 4. and Monet. Vet. p. 16.

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determined whether to recognise the town founded by the Cretans in that of Thyræi, or in that of Veretum. By the first, which he mentions as placed in the centre of the isthmus, and formerly the capital of the country, he seems to designate *Oria;* Veretum, as we shall see, being situated near the sea, towards the extreme point of the peninsula. (VI. 282.) It is probable the word Thyræi is corrupt; for elsewhere Strabo calls it Uria, and describes it as standing on the Appian way, between Brundusium and Tarentum. (VI. 282.) Reference is also made to Uria by Appian, (Civ. Bell. V. 58.) and by Frontinus, (de Col.) who speaks of the Urianus ager; and it is likewise marked in the Table Itinerary[i].

The city named Varia by Pliny, and enumerated by him among the inland towns of the Iapygian peninsula, (III. 11.) is supposed by Cluverius to be a wrong reading for Uria[k]; but Cellarius observes, that Frontinus has mentioned the ager Varnus, as well as Urianus, which would imply the existence of a town called Varia[l] in Calabria. I should also incline to that opinion; and the distinctive term of Apula may have been added to it by Pliny, to prevent its being confounded with the Sabine town of the same name. Respecting this ancient site, nothing conclusive has yet been ascertained; for I am Varia.

[i] It is a great question among numismatical writers, what coins ought to be attributed to the ancient Hyria, or Uria, among the great number which seem to have some pretensions to be thus classed. According to Sestini, we should only assign to this town those with the legend ORRA, and an eagle grasping a thunderbolt. On the obverse a head of Pallas. Sestini, Lett. Numis. t. vi. 1. p. 6. Monet. Vet. p. 15. Orra was probably the Iapygian name, which the Greeks changed to Uria.

[k] Cluver. Ital. Ant. II. 1248.

[l] Geogr. Ant. II. 9.

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not disposed to agree with Romanelli, in thinking that Pliny meant to designate under the name of Varia Apula the city of Barium, which he elsewhere notices under its usual appellation[m].

Messapia. In the same passage, Pliny mentions a city called Messapia, likewise in this vicinity, which may be thought to have communicated its name to the Messapian nation. The generality of Italian topographers identify this site with that of *Messagna*, between *Oria* and *Brindisi*[n].

Cælium. Further north was Cælium, now *Ceglie*, in an elevated situation, about eight miles from the sea. It is distinguished from Celia in Peucetia, by being written with the diphthong[o]. (Plin. III. 11. Front. de Col.)

Carbina. *Carovigno*, somewhat nearer the sea, would, according to Romanelli[p], represent the town of Carbina; which, as Athenæus relates, on the authority of Clearchus, an ancient writer, was conquered and treated with wanton barbarity by the Tarentines. (Athen. XII. 4.)

Sallentini vel Salentini. The Sallentini, or Salentini, cannot be distinguished with accuracy from the Calabri, as we find the former appellation used by several writers in a very extensive sense, and applied, not only to the greater part of Iapygia, but even to districts entirely removed from it. Strabo himself confesses the difficulty of assigning any exact limits to these two people, and he contents himself with observing, that the

[m] Romanelli, t. ii. p. 124.

[n] Holsten. Adnot. p. 282. Pratilli, Via Appia, l. iv. c. 8. Romanelli, t. ii. p. 127.

[o] On this ground, antiquaries attribute to this city the coins with the Greek legend ΚΑΙΑΙΝΩΝ and ΚΑΙΑΕΙΝΩΝ. Mazzocchi, Diatr. I. c. 5. Sestini, Monet. Vet. p. 15. Romanelli, t. ii. p. 131.

[p] Romanelli, t. ii. p. 142.

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country of the Sallentini lay properly round the Iapygian promontory. (VI. 277. and 281.) It was asserted, that they were a colony of Cretans, who, under the conduct of Idumeneus their king, had arrived thither in their wanderings after the capture of Troy.

> Et Sallentinos obsedit milite campos
> Lyctius Idomeneus. ÆN. III. 400.

The Romans, under pretence of their having assisted Pyrrhus in his expedition into Italy, soon after invaded the territory of this insignificant people, and had no difficulty in taking the few towns which they possessed. (Flor. I. 20. Liv. Epit. XV.) The Sallentini subsequently revolted during the second Punic war, but they were again reduced by the consul Claudius Nero. (Liv. XXVII. 36.) It is probable that they derived their name from a town called Sallentia, the existence of which is however only attested by Stephanus Byz. who calls it a Messapian city[q]. (v. Σαλλεντία.) It may perhaps be thought that we ought to identify it with the Soletum of Pliny, (III. 11.) now *Soleto*, about twelve miles south of *Lecce*[r]. Sallentia.

Sarmadium, named by the latter geographer among the inland towns of the Salentini, is supposed to be *Muro*[s]. It is probable that we should refer to this town the Armadillus ager of Frontinus. (de Col.) Sarmadium.

Further south is Basta, the people of which are called Basterbini by Pliny. (III. 11.) The name of this city occurs also in the remarkable Messapian Basta.

[q] See a note by Holstenius on the word Καλλίαι in this author.

[r] Ant. de Ferar. p. 81. Romanelli, t. ii. p. 26.

[s] Ant. de Ferar. p. 96. Romanelli, t. ii. p. 29.

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inscription already alluded to, and which was discovered in its immediate vicinity[t]. Its ancient appellation of Basta is yet partly preserved in that of *Vaste*[u]. In Ptolemy, (p. 62.) for Bauota we should perhaps read Basta.

Templum et Castrum Minervæ.

Close to the sea was a temple of Minerva, which, according to Strabo, was once very celebrated and wealthy. (VI. 28.) It was afterwards called Castrum Minervæ, as may be seen by the Itineraries; and the name of *Castro* is still attached to the spot[x]. Virgil alludes to this temple when he describes the navigation of Æneas. (Cf. Dion. Hal. I. 51.)

> Crebrescunt optatæ auræ: portusque patescit
> Jam propior, templumque apparet in arce Minervæ.
> Vela legunt socii, et proras ad litora torquent.
> Portus ab Euroo fluctu curvatur in arcum;
> Objectæ salsa spumant aspergine cautes.
> Ipse latet: gemino demittunt brachia muro
> Turriti scopuli, refugitque a litore templum.
>
> Æn. III. 530.

Baris postea Veretum.

Further south, and only a few miles from the coast, Veretum, which, as Strabo asserts, was also called Baris, (VI. 281.) is represented by the old church of *S. Maria di Vereto*[y]. (Cf. Plin. III. 11. Ptol. p. 62. Front. de Col.)

Almost at the extremity of the peninsula, Leuca still retains some trace of its name in that of a church

[t] See p. 302.

[u] Ant. de Ferar. p. 96. Romanelli, t. ii. p. 30.

[x] It is supposed that this temple was no other than a vast cavern called *Zinzanusa*, in which several artificial galleries and chambers, adorned with columns and other sculptures, have been discovered. Alfano Descriz. del. R. di Nap. v. *Castro*.

[y] Galat. p. 99. Holsten. Adnot. p. 283.

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dedicated to the Virgin, under the title of *S. Maria di Leuca*[z]. (Strab. VI. 281.)

> . . . . . quas avius Hydrus,
> Antiquusque Taras, secretaque litora Leucæ.
> LUCAN. V. 375.

Strabo affirms that this coast took the name of Leuternia[a] from the Leuterni, said to be giants, who had escaped from the destruction of their race in the Phlægrean plains of Campania. (VI. 281. Aristot. de Mirab.) Scylax, however, speaks of the Leuterni as a really existing people. (Peripl. p. 5.) Leuternium Littus.

The Promontorium Iapygium, or Sallentinum, as it was sometimes called, (Sallust. ap. Serv. ad Æn. III. 400.) formed too remarkable a feature in the figure of Italy not to attract the notice of ancient geographers. When the art of navigation was yet in its infancy, this great headland presented a conspicuous landmark to mariners bound from the ports of Greece to Sicily, of which they always availed themselves. The fleets of Athens, after having circumnavigated the Peloponnese, are represented on this passage as usually making for Corcyra, from whence they steered straight across to the promontory, and then coasted along the south of Italy for the remainder of their voyage. (Thuc. VI. 30.) There seems indeed to have been a sort of haven here, capable of affording shelter to vessels in tempestuous weather. (Thuc. VI. 44.) Strabo describes this celebrated point of land, now called *Capo di Leuca*, as defining, together with the Ceraunian Iapygium sive Sallentinum Promontorium.

[z] D'Anville, Anal. Geogr. de l'Italie, p. 233.

[a] Romanelli, t. ii. p. 38.

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mountains, the line of separation between the Adriatic and the Ionian seas, whilst it formed, with the opposite cape of Lacinium, the entrance to the Tarentine gulf; the distance in both cases being 700 stadia[b]. (VI. 281.) Several other measures between this cape and various points of Italy are given by Pliny. (III. 11.)

Uxentum. To the north-west of the Iapygian promontory, *Ugento* represents the ancient Uxentum, named only by Ptolemy (p. 62.) and the Tabula Theodosiana[c].

Aletium. Aletium, to which the Aletini of Pliny must be referred, (III. 11.) is naturally supposed to have occupied the site of the church of *S. Maria della Lizza*[d]. This town is also marked in the Table under the corrupt name of Balitium.

Callipolis. On the sea was the city of Callipolis, now *Gallipoli*, the name of which would alone indicate a Greek origin, if we had no other evidence of the fact. But this notion acquires confirmation from a fragment of Dionysius, (XVII. 4.) in which it is stated, that Callipolis owed its foundation to Leucippus, a Lacedæmonian, who erected a town there with the consent of the Tarentines, who expected to be put in possession of it shortly after; but in this hope they were deceived; and on finding that the Spartan colony was already strong enough to resist an attack, they

[b] According to the best maps the first distance falls short of the second by about twenty miles.

[c] Of this town there are numerous coins with the Greek inscription OΞAN. On the obverse there is generally a head of Minerva, on the reverse a figure of Hercules erect. Romanelli, t. ii. p. 43. Sestini, Lett. Numis. I. 38. For an account of the other antiquities of *Ugento*, see Galateo, p. 100.

[d] D'Anville, Anal. Geogr. de l'Italie, p. 233.

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suffered Leucippus to prosecute his undertaking without molestation[e].

Mela styles it "urbs Graia Callipolis[f]." (II. 4.) The passage in which Pliny names this town is corrupt. (III. 11.)

Neritum, about five miles to the north, is *Nardo*. (Plin. III. 11. Ptol. p. 62.) From an ancient inscription, cited by Muratori, it appears to have been a municipium[g]. Neritum.

The Portus Sasina of Pliny answers to the *Porto Cesareo*, being the narrowest part of the isthmus which separates the gulf of Tarentum from the Adriatic. (Plin. III. 11.) Sasina Portus.

Manduria, which still retains its name, was nearly half way between Brundusium and Tarentum. This otherwise obscure town has acquired some interest in history from having witnessed the death of Archidamus, king of Sparta, the son of Agesilaus. He had been summoned by the Tarentines to aid them against the Messapians and Lucanians, but even his bravery was insufficient to subdue their foes. He fell in the conflict, and his body, as Plutarch relates, remained in the possession of the enemy, notwithstanding the large offers made by the Tarentines to recover it. This is said to have been the only instance in which a Spartan king was debarred the rites of burial. (Plut. vit. Agid. Athen. XII. 9. Strab. VI. 280.) Manduria was taken by the Ro- Manduria.

[e] Dion. Hal. Frag. ed. Angelo Maio Mediol. 1816.

[f] Numismatical writers look upon the word Graia rather as an appellative than an adjective, and therefore assign to this city the coins with the epigraph ΓΡΑ. especially as they are in every respect similar to the medals of the neighbouring towns. Sestini, Lett. Numis. t. vi. p. 7.

[g] Thesaur. Inscript. class. xvi. p. 1113. Galet. p. 112.

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mans in the second Punic war. (Liv. XXVII. 15.) A curious well is described by Pliny as existing near this town. According to his account, its water always maintained the same level, whatever quantity was added to or taken from it[h]. (Plin. II. 103.)

Tarentum. Tarentum, in Greek Τάρας, now *Taranto*, may justly be regarded as the most distinguished colony which that enterprising nation ever founded, whether we consider its celebrity in the annals of Greece, its rank among the Italian states, or the importance subsequently attached to its possession by the Romans. Without entering upon a detailed inquiry into the various traditions to which the origin of this illustrious city seems to have given rise, I shall confine myself to a brief statement of the principal circumstances of its early history, as they are related by Strabo, on the authority of Antiochus of Syracuse and Ephorus.

The Spartans, it is said, being engaged in a long and arduous war with the Messenians, whose territory they had invaded, began to apprehend lest their protracted absence should be attended with the failure of that increase in their population at home, which was so necessary to supply the losses produced by the lapse of time and the sword of the enemy. To remedy this evil, it was determined therefore to send to Laconia a select body of youths, from whom in due time would arise a supply of recruits for the war. The children, who were the fruit of the intercourse between these warriors and the Spartan maids, received the name of Parthenii; but

[h] This phenomenon may still be observed at the present day. Swinburne's Travels in the Two Sicilies, vol. i. sect. 28. p. 222.

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on their arriving at the age of manhood they found the Messenian war concluded, and being regarded as the offspring of illicit love, and in other respects treated with indignity, they formed the design of subverting the government, in conjunction with the Helots. The plot however was discovered; but so dangerous did the conspiracy appear, and so formidable was their number, that it was thought more prudent to remove them out of the country by persuasion than to use severity or to employ force. A treaty was therefore agreed upon, by which the Parthenians bound themselves to quit Sparta for ever, provided they could acquire possessions in a foreign land. They accordingly sailed to Italy, under the command of Phalanthus; and finding the Cretans, and, as Ephorus states, the Achæans, already settled in that country, and engaged in a war with the natives, they joined their forces to those of the Greeks, and possessed themselves of Tarentum, which Pausanias affirms to have been already a very considerable and opulent town. According to the best chronologists, these events may be supposed to have happened about 700 years A. C. when Numa Pompilius was king of Rome. (Strab. VI. 280. Dion. Hal. Frag. XVI. Pausan. Phocic. III. 12. Justin. III. 4.)

The allusions to the Spartan origin of Tarentum are frequent among the poets.

Tendens Venafranos in agros,
Aut Lacedæmonium Tarentum.
HOR. III. OD. 5.

Dulce pellitis ovibus Galesi
Flumen, et regnata petam Laconi
Rura Phalanto. ID. II. OD. 6.

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. . . . . ventisque faventibus æquor
Navigat Ionium, Lacedæmoniumque Tarentum —
OVID. METAM. XV. 49.

Hence also the appellation of Œbalia, said to be an ancient name of Laconia, which we find applied to this town.

Namque sub Œbaliæ memini me turribus altis,
Qua niger humectat flaventia culta Galesus,
Corycium vidisse senem. GEORG. IV. 125.

At non Pythagoræ monitus, annique silentes,
Famosum Œbalii luxum pressere Tarenti.
CLAUD. MALL. THEOD. CONS.

Tarentum must therefore date, if not its existence, at least its increase and importance, from the arrival of this colony. But it was probably still more indebted to the peculiar advantages of its situation for the high degree of power, opulence, and fame to which it rapidly attained. Possessed of a noble haven placed in the centre of its widely extended bay, and having at command those resources which the salubrity of climate and fertility of soil in every variety of production afforded, it seemed destined to become the seat of commerce and wealth, if not that of empire. Though the only materials for the history of this once flourishing city are detached passages collected from various writers of antiquity, we may yet trace from these imperfect documents the course of its fortunes with sufficient accuracy for our general purpose.

The first enemies which the rising colony had to contend with were the surrounding barbarians, who would naturally view with jealousy and alarm the

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progress of a city, destined, as it was decreed by the oracle, to be their scourge and bane. (Antioch. Syrac. ap. Strab. VI. 280.) Even at that early period, however, the superiority of Grecian valour and Grecian tactics gave them a decided advantage in their contests with these rude and undisciplined foes; and the victories of the Tarentines over the Iapygians and Peucetians were attested on several occasions by splendid offerings consecrated to the Delphian god. (Pausan. Phocic. X. 10.)

Tarentum was thus enabled to extend its dominion and influence along the neighbouring coast, and to contract alliances with the other cities of Magna Græcia, which it far surpassed, however, in opulence and splendour. (Scymn. Ch. v. 329.) The proximity of the ports of Istria and Illyria, of Greece and Sicily, favoured commercial intercourse, while the vessels of these several states were naturally induced to profit by the only spacious and secure haven which the eastern coast of Italy presented. (Polyb. Frag. X. 1. Flor. I. 18. Herod. I. 24.)

It is probable that the constitution of the Tarentines, in the first instance, was modelled after that of the parent state; at least Herodotus has certified, that in his time they were governed by a king. (III. 136.) According to Strabo, however, that constitution afterwards assumed the form of a democracy, in consequence of a revolution which seems to have taken place. (Cf. Aristot. Polit. V. 3. Diod. Sic. XI. 52.) It was then, as Strabo adds, that this city reached its highest point of elevation. At this most prosperous period of the republic, which may be supposed to date about 400 years before Christ, when Rome was engaged in the siege of Veii, and Greece

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enjoyed some tranquillity after the long struggle of the Peloponnesian war terminated by the fall of Athens, Archytas, a distinguished philosopher of the school of Pythagoras, and an able statesman, presided over her councils as strategos. Her navy was far superior to that of any other Italian colony. Nor were her military establishments less formidable and efficient; since she could bring into the field a force of 30,000 foot and 5000 horse, exclusive of a select body of cavalry, called Hipparchi[i]. The Tarentines were long held in great estimation as auxiliary troops, and were frequently employed in the armies of foreign princes and states. (Strab. VI. 280. Athen. Deipnos. XII. 12. Ælian. Hist. Var. VII. 14. Polyb. XI. 12. and XVI. 18.)

Nor was the cultivation of the arts and of literature forgotten in this advancement of political strength and civilization. The Pythagorean sect, which in other parts of Magna Græcia had been so barbarously oppressed, here found encouragement and refuge through the influence of Archytas, who was said to have entertained Plato during his residence in this city. (Cic. de Sen. 12.) And the first sculptors and painters of Greece contributed to embellish Tarentum with several splendid monuments, which ancient writers have dwelt upon with admiration, and which, at a later period, when transferred to Rome, served to decorate the Capitol. But this grandeur was not of long duration; for wealth and abundance soon engendered a love of ease and luxury, the consequences of which proved fatal to the interests of Tarentum, by sapping the vigour of her institutions, enervating the minds and corrupt-

[i] Heyne, Opusc. Acad. t. ii. p. 223.

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ing the morals of her inhabitants. Effeminacy and voluptuousness gradually usurped the place of energy and courage, and the Tarentines became the abandoned slaves of licentiousness and vice. To such excess indeed was the love of pleasure carried, that the number of their annual festivals is said to have exceeded that of the days in the year. Hence the expressions so often applied to it by Horace, of "molle," and "imbelle Tarentum;" and by Juvenal, of

> Atque coronatum et petulans madidumque Tarentum.
> SAT. VI. 297.

(Strab. VI. 280. Theopom. ap. Athen. IV. 19. Clearch. ap. eund. XII. 4. Eustath. in Dion. Perieg. 376. Ælian. Var. Hist. XII. 30.)

Enfeebled and degraded by this system of demoralization and corruption, the Tarentines soon found themselves unable as heretofore to overawe and keep in subjection the neighbouring barbarians of Iapygia, who had always hated and feared, but now learned to despise them. These, leagued with the still more warlike Lucanians, who had already become the terror of Magna Græcia, now made constant inroads on their territory, and even threatened the safety of their city. Incapable of exertion, and having no leaders possessed of any military talent or energy, the Tarentines were compelled to call in to their aid experienced commanders from Greece, whom ambition perhaps, or the desire of gain, might induce to quit their native soil in search of wealth and renown. A more generous motive perhaps influenced Archidamus, king of Sparta, who was the first to engage in their defence, for he might regard Taren-

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tum as having just claims to his protection as a Spartan colony. But this valiant prince fell in the first engagement with the enemy[k]. Alexander of Epirus, who was the next ally of the Tarentines, was soon disgusted with their feeble and irresolute conduct, and abandoned their cause to prosecute his own ambitious designs. (Strab. VI. 280. Liv. VIII. 17.) He was followed by the Spartan Cleomenes, and afterwards by Agathocles; but the services of these adventurers were productive of little benefit to the republic, being more intent on their own interest than those of the people which sought their aid. (Strab. loc. cit. Diod. Sic. XIX. Liv. X. 2.)

Tarentum, in consequence of these repeated failures, might have been induced to depend on her own resources, had the barbarians of Iapygia or Lucania remained her only foes. But a more formidable enemy now appeared in the lists, to cope with whom singly seemed hopeless and out of the question. This was Rome, who, by continued successes over the Samnites, and the subjection of Apulia, had now extended her dominions nearly to the walls of Tarentum, and was not likely to be stayed in her career of conquest by other obstacles than those which superior force and determined resistance could create. Pretexts for war would not be wanting to a power which seemed to have conspired against the independence of nations, and which, under a pompous display of the forms of justice and equity, violated the substance with an effrontery which her historians have in vain endeavoured to extenuate or disguise. An insult publicly offered

[k] See p. 317.

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to one of her ambassadors was here the plea assigned for the declaration of war; (Dionys. Excerpt. Legat. XVII. App. Bell. Pyrr.) and the Tarentines again had recourse in this emergency to foreign aid and counsels. The valour and forces of Pyrrhus for a time averted the storm, and checked the victorious progress of the Roman armies; but when that prince withdrew from Italy, Tarentum could no longer resist her powerful enemies, and soon after fell into their hands; the surrender of the town being hastened by the treachery of the Epirot force which Pyrrhus had left there. The independence of Tarentum may be said to terminate here, though the conquerors pretended still to recognise the liberty of her citizens. They were compelled to surrender their arms and their ships of war; their walls were dismantled, and a heavy fine was imposed as the conditions of peace. (Liv. Epit. XV.) To this harsh treatment may justly be ascribed the subsequent conduct of the Tarentines during the second Punic war, in declaring for Hannibal, whom they must have viewed more in the light of a deliverer from a state of oppression, than as an invader of their country. They opened their gates to his forces, and warmly seconded his efforts to reduce the Roman garrison, which still held out in the citadel. (Polyb. VIII. 26. Liv. XXV. 9.) Such, however, was the strength of this fortress, that it effectually withstood all the attacks made upon it; and when the attention of the Carthaginian general was drawn off to other parts of Italy, Tarentum was again surprised and captured by the Romans, under the command of Fabius Maximus, who treated it as a city taken from the enemy. The plunder obtained

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by them on this occasion was immense; the pictures and statues being said to have nearly equalled in number those of Syracuse. Livy commends, on this occasion, the moderation of Fabius, and intimates that he allowed these works of art to remain undisturbed; (XXVII. 16.) but Strabo asserts, that many articles were removed by that general, and among others a colossal bronze statue of Hercules, the work of the celebrated Lysippus. (VI. 280. Cf. Plut. Fab. Max.)

From this period the prosperity and political existence of Tarentum may date its decline, which was further accelerated by the preference shewn by the Romans to the port of Brundusium for the fitting out of their naval armaments, as well as for commercial purposes. The salubrity of its climate, the singular fertility of its territory, and its advantageous situation on the sea, as well as on the Appian way, still rendered it, however, a city of consequence in the Augustan age. Strabo reports, that though a great portion of its extent was deserted in his time, the inhabited part still constituted a large town. That geographer describes the "inner harbour as being 100 stadia, or twelve miles and a half, in circuit[1]. This port, in the part of its basin which recedes the furthest inland, forms, with the exterior sea, an isthmus connecting the peninsula on which the town is built with the land. This isthmus is so completely level, that it is easy to carry vessels over it from one side to the other[m].

[1] This computation does not agree with modern measurements, which reckon the circuit of this harbour at sixteen miles. Swinburne's Travels, t. i. sect. 32. Gagliardi, Topogr. di Taranto.

[m] Strabo here alludes to the celebrated operation of Hannibal, in order to blockade the citadel. (Polyb. VIII. 36.)

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" The site of the town is very low; the ground rises, " however, a little towards the citadel. The cir- " cumference of the old walls is great; but a consi- " derable portion of the town, seated on the isthmus, " is now deserted. That part of it, however, situ- " ated near the mouth of the harbour, where the " citadel stands, is yet occupied. It possesses a " noble gymnasium, and a spacious forum, in which " is placed a colossal image of Jove, yielding only " in size to that of Rhodes. The citadel is situated " between the forum and the entrance of the har- " bour[n]."

From modern researches we learn that Tarentum was adorned with several splendid edifices, such as a museum, theatre, circus maximus, prytaneum, and a temple of Neptune, the tutelary deity of the place.

Ab Jove, Neptunoque sacri custode Tarenti.
HOR. I. OD. 28.

It is remarked as an unusual circumstance by Polybius, that in this city the dead were buried within the walls, which custom he ascribed to a superstitious motive. (VIII. 30.)

The river Galæsus, now *Galeso*, flowed within five miles of Tarentum, and fell into the inner harbour. Polybius says it was more generally known by the name of Eurotas. (VIII. 35.) The former appellation, however, is universally employed by the Latin poets who have given celebrity to this stream. Galæsus fl.

Qua niger humectat flaventia culta Galæsus.
GEORG. IV. 126.

[n] The modern town now occupies the site of the former citadel. Romanelli, t. i. p. 286.

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Tu canis umbrosi subter pineta Galæsi.
PROPERT. II. EL. 34.

Eridanus flavæque terens querceta Maricæ,
Liris et Œbaliæ qui temperat arva Galæsus.
CLAUD. PROB. ET OL. CONS.

On the left bank of the Galæsus, and to the north-east of Tarentum, were situated the fertile ridge and valley of Aulon, the delight and admiration of Horace, now *Terra di Melone*[o].

Aulon.

Ille terrarum mihi præter omnes
Angulus ridet; ubi non Hymetto
Mella decedunt, viridique certat
Bacca Venafro;
Ver ubi longum, tepidasque præbet
Jupiter brumas, et amicus Aulon
Fertili Baccho minimum Falernis
Invidet uvis. II. OD. 6.

This spot is also celebrated by Martial.

Nobilis et lanis, et felix vitibus Aulon
Det pretiosa tibi vellera, vina mihi.
XIII. EP. 125.

It may here be observed, that the wool and purple dye of Tarentum were held in great estimation.

Lana Tarentino violas imitata veneno.
HOR. II. EPIST. I. 207.

Saturium.

Saturium is another spot in the Tarentine territory frequently alluded to by ancient writers. The antiquity of the name appears from its being mentioned in the oracle delivered to Phalanthus. (Antioch. Syrac. ap. Strab. VI. 279.)

Σατύρειόν τοι δῶκα, Τάραντά τε πίονα δῆμον
Οἰκῆσαι, καὶ πῆμα Ἰαπύγεσσι γενέσθαι.

[o] Romanelli, t. i. p. 295.

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Virgil seems also to advert to this place when he says,

> Saltus, et Saturi petito longinqua Tarenti.
> GEORG. II. 197.

and likewise Horace.

> Me Satureiano vectari rura caballo. I. SAT. 6.

(Cf. Steph. Byz. v. Σατύριον.) This name is still preserved in that of *Saturio*, a hamlet on the sea-coast about seven miles to the east of *Taranto*. The situation of Castania, mentioned only by Stephanus Byz. (v. Καστανaία) as a town in the vicinity of Tarentum, remains unexplored. Castania.

To the west of Tarentum was the little river Taras, now *Tara*. (Pausan. Phocic. III. Steph. Byz. v. Τάρας.) Taras fl.

Opposite to the entrance of the Tarentine harbour are two small islands, which now derive their names from the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, but were anciently known as the insulæ Chœradæ. They deserve our notice as being mentioned by Thucydides; who states, that Demosthenes and Eurymedon, who commanded the troops sent to reinforce the Athenians in their expedition against Sicily, took on board here some Messapian archers, supplied by Arta, a chief of that nation, with whom they had contracted an alliance. (Thuc. VII. 33.) Chœradæ insulæ.

ROMAN WAYS.

By referring to the preceding section, it will be seen that the description of the Appian way was there given as far as Venusia, the first town of this province on the Samnite border; I shall therefore now resume the account of the remaining stations

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from that point to Brundusium, where it terminated. The Itineraries arrange them in the following order:

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Venusia	*Venosa*	
Silvium	*Garagnone*	XX.
Pleram	*Gravina*[p]	XVI.[q]
Sublupatiam[r]	*Anticaglie*[s]	XIV.
Canales	*Canile*[t]	XIII.
Tarentum	*Taranto*	XX.
Mesochorion	*Grottaglie*[u]	X.
Uriam	*Oria*	X.
Scamnum	*Latiano*[x]	VIII.
Brundusium	*Brindisi*	XV.

The next road to be noticed is the Via Egnatia, which has been already detailed from Beneventum to Canusium, in the last chapter. Its continuation from thence is thus described in the Itinerary of Antoninus.

Canusio	*Canosa*	
Rubos	*Ruvo*	XXIII.
Butuntum	*Bitonto*	XI.*
Barium	*Bari*	XII.
Turres		XXI.
Egnatiam	*Torre d'Agnazzo*	XVI.
Speluncas	*Grotta Rossa*[y]	XX.
Brundusium	*Brindisi*	XIX.

[p] Holsten. Adnot. p. 281. Pratilli, Via Appia, l. iv. c. 6.

[q] Instead of XII. marked in the Antonine Itinerary.

[r] This station indicates the proximity of the road to a town named Lupatia, which antiquaries place at *Altamura*. Holsten. Adnot. p. 281. Romanelli, t. ii. p. 184.

[s] Pratilli, Via Appia, loc. cit.

[t] Holsten. Adnot. loc. cit. Pratilli, l. iv. c. 7.

[u] Romanelli, t. ii. p. 115.

[x] Id. t. ii. p. 129.

[y] D'Anville, Anal. Geogr. de l'Italie, p. 223.

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According to the Jerusalem Itinerary.

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Canusio	*Canosa*	
ad XV.	*Castel del Monte*[y]	XV.
Rubos	*Ruvo*	XV.
Butuntos	*Bitonto*	XI.
Barium	*Bari*	XI.
Turrim Julianam	*Torre Pellosa*[z]	XI.
Turrim Aurelianam	*Ripagnola*[a]	IX.
Egnatiam	*Torre d'Agnazzo*	XV.
ad Decimum		X.
Speluncas	*Grotta Rossa*	XI.
Brundusium	*Brindisi*	XIV.

Another branch of this road is thus laid down in the Tabula Theodosiana.

Canusio	*Canosa*	
Rhudias	*Andria*	XII.
Rubos	*Ruvo*	XII.
Butuntos	*Bitonto*	XI.[b]
Celiam	*Ceglie*	XII.[c]
Azetium	*Rotigliano*	IX.
Norbam	*Conversano*	X.[d]
ad Veneris	*Monte S. Pietro*[c]	VIII.
Egnatiam	*Torre d'Agnazzo*	VIII.
Speluncas	*Grotta Rossa*	XXI.
Brundusium	*Brindisi*	XIV.

The continuation of the Via Frentana along the coast of Apulia from Larinum to Brundusium, is thus detailed in the Antonine Itinerary.

[y] Pratilli, Via Appia, l. iv. c. 13. Chaupy, Dec. &c. t. iii. p. 504.

[z] Romanelli, t. ii. p. 156.

[a] Id. loc. cit.

[b] Instead of XIV. reckoned in the Itinerary.

[c] The Table incorrectly marks IX.

[d] In the Table this number is wanting.

[e] Romanelli, t. ii. p. 180.

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Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Larino	*Larino vecchio*	
Corneli[f]	- - - -	XXVI.
Pontem Longum[g]	- - - -	XXX.
Sipontum	*S. Maria di Siponto*	XXX.
Salinas	*Saline* - -	XV.
Aufidum fl.	*Ofanto* - -	XL.[h]
Respam[i]	*Molfeta* - -	XXIII.
Barium	*Bari* - - -	XIII.
Aparnæste	*S. Vito* - -	XXII.
Egnatiam	*Torre d'Agnazzo*	XV.
Speluncas	*Grotta Rossa* -	XXI.
Brundisium	*Brindisi* - -	XIV.

According to the Table, the stations are arranged in the following order:

Larinum	*Larino vecchio*	
Teanum Apulum	*Civitate* - -	XVIII.
Ergitium	*S. Severo*[k]	
Sipontum	*S. Maria di Siponto*	
Anxanum	*Rivoli*[l]	
Salinas	*Saline*	
Aufidum fl.	*Ofanto*	
Bardulum	*Barletta* - -	VI.
Aveldium fl.	- - - -	IX.
Turenum	*Trani* - -	IX.
Natiolum	*Bisceglie* - -	VI.
Barium	*Bari* - - -	XIX.[m]
Turrim Cæsaris	*Ripagnola* - -	XV.[n]

[f] This station and the following one are unknown, the distances being evidently incorrect. Romanelli imagines that for Corneli we should read Cliternia, but that city seems out of the direction of this route. Romanelli, t. iii. p. 733.

[g] This bridge was probably over the Frento.

[h] This number should be XI.

[i] Romanelli, t. ii. p. 163.

[k] Holsten. Adnot. p. 280.

[l] Romanelli, t. ii. p. 204.

[m] Instead of IX.

[n] The Itinerary marks XX.

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Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Dertum	*Torre del Orto*	IX.
Egnatiam	*Torre d'Agnazzo*	IX.
Speluncas	*Grotta Rossa*	XXI.
Brundusium	*Brindisi*	XIV.

The same Itinerary describes a cross road from Teanum Apulum to Bovianum in Samnium.

Teano Apulo	*Civitate*	
Geronium	*Girone*	XVIII.
ad Pirum	*Campolieto*[p]	IX.
ad Canales	*Campobasso*[q]	X.[r]
Bovianum	*Boiano*	XI.

Also another from Sipontum to Beneventum.

Siponto	*S. Maria di Siponto*	
Arpos	*Arpi*	XXI.
Prætorium Laverianum	*Laconicello*[s]	IX.
Luceriam	*Lucera*	VIII.[t]
Ælcas	*Troja*	XII.

There yet remains to be noticed a road which followed the whole coast of the Iapygian peninsula, from Brundusium to Tarentum. The Table enumerates its stations in the following order:

Brundusium	*Brindisi*	
Pactium fl.	*Canale del Cefalo*	
Baletium	*S. Pietro Vernotico*	X.
Lupriam	*Lecce*	XV.
Hydruntum	*Otranto*	XXV.
Castrum Minervæ	*Castro*	VIII.

[o] The Table omits X.
[p] Romanelli, t. iii. p. 634.
[q] Id. loc. cit.
[r] This number is wanting in the Itinerary.
[s] Holsten. Adnot. p. 280.
[t] This and the following number are wanting.

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Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Veretum	*S. Maria di Vereto*	XV.[u]
Uxentum	*Ugento* - -	X.
Aletium	*S. Maria della Lizza*	XII.[x]
Neretum	*Nardo* - -	X.
Manduriam	*Manduria* - -	XXIX.
Tarentum	*Taranto* - -	XXIV.[y]

[u] Instead of XII.
[x] The Table gives only X.
[y] The Itinerary only marks XX.

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SECTION XIII.

LUCANIA.

Of the Œnotri, Chones, Morgetes, and other ancient tribes of the southern extremity of Italy—General view of Magna Græcia and the Greek colonies – Of the Lucani—Boundaries and description of Lucania—Public roads.

It appears, from the earliest period of which we have any records, that the southern portion of Italy, which was afterwards so much frequented by the Greeks as to derive from them the name of Magna Græcia, was occupied by the Œnotri, a people concerning whose origin it would be scarce worth our while to inquire, had not the opinion of some ancient writers attached greater importance to the subject than it would otherwise have appeared to deserve. I allude to the well known hypothesis of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who regarded this primitive race as descended from a most ancient Arcadian colony, and further identified them with the Aborigines of the Latin writers. (I. 12.) I have elsewhere stated the arguments which modern critics have opposed to this theory, and which appear so convincing, that I apprehend few of the learned will now be disposed to embrace the opinion of the abovementioned historian[u]. Antiochus of Syracuse, who is the earliest ancient author who is said to have stu-

[u] I must here except M. Raoul-Rochette, who advocates the opinion of Dionysius, in a memoir entitled, "Quelques "éclaircissemens sur l'époque "de l'émigration d'Enotrus." Mem. de l'Institut Royal, &c. t. vi. p. 199.

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died the antiquities of Italy, evidently seems to have regarded the Œnotri, Itali, Chones, and Morgetes, as indigenous tribes, who had peopled the southern part of that country long before the Greeks formed any settlements there; a statement which could hardly be reconciled with the Arcadian descent of the Œnotri.

The best informed writers among the moderns certainly look upon the population of Italy as having been disseminated from north to south; and this opinion seems so much more agreeable to reason and to history, that a contrary notion will scarcely gain credit at the present day.

On this great principle, I should not be led to consider the Œnotri as a very early branch of the primitive Italian stock, but rather as the last scion propagated in a southerly direction. They were not so ancient apparently as the Ausones, whom tradition represented as being in possession of the country before the arrival of Œnotrus; and who, if my surmise be correct, were of Iberian origin. A portion of these, according to the report of Hellanicus of Lesbos, (ap. Dion. Hal. I. 22.) were driven from their territory, and forced to cross into Sicily, by the Iapyges, who must therefore have occupied the southern extremity of the peninsula. That this was the case, appears indeed from Scylax; who, in his Periplus, extends that nation as far as Heraclæa. Ephorus also, as cited by Strabo, attested that they once possessed Crotona; (VI. 262.) and the name of Iapygian, given to three headlands near that town, corroborates the testimony of that accurate writer. (Strab. VI. 261.) The Leuternii, who are mentioned as having formerly inhabited the territory of Siris, were probably Iapygians; for it may be remembered

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that we recognised their existence near Hydruntum. The Chones, who were contiguous to the Lentarnii, were perhaps of the same race; and as Strabo states, on the authority of Antiochus, that this people was of Œnotrian descent, (VI. 255.) we might be led thence to infer, that some connexion existed between the Iapyges and the latter people. But these are questions of too great obscurity, and of too little importance to be long dwelt upon. It may be more worth our while to remark, that it was from Italus, a prince of the Œnotri, that the name of Italia was stated to have been derived; to him also is ascribed the merit of having first introduced agriculture, legislation, and other institutions tending to civilize his rude and barbarous subjects. (Aristot. de Rep. VII. 10. Thuc. VI. 2.)

Italus was succeeded by Morges, whose reign is distinguished by an event of some consequence in the early history of Italy and Sicily; I mean the arrival of the Siculi from Latium, and their subsequent migration to the latter country. Antiochus speaks of Siculus as an exiled chief, who came from Rome to seek refuge in the dominions of Morges; but having been detected in creating a faction with the view of raising himself to the throne, he was expelled, together with the Siculi and Morgetes his followers, and forced to cross over into Sicily. (Antioch. Syrac. ap. Dion. Hal. I. 12. et 73. Cf. Strab. VI. 257.) But waving all further inquiry into these early, and consequently obscure transactions, I now pass on to a far more brilliant and important epoch in the history of this southern portion of Italy; I mean that period when Greece, whose colonies already extended along the shores of the Ægean, Hellespont, and Euxine

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seas, began to people also the coasts of Sicily and Œnotria with her brave and adventurous sons. The spirit of enterprise which animated that singular country at this early age, is a feature in her history which is not the least calculated to display the wonderful genius of her energetic race, and to excite our admiration for their successful achievements, even in this era, so preeminently distinguished for colonial greatness and prosperity. For though modern nations may boast of far more grand and splendid results to their enterprises, it must be remembered that they were possessed of infinitely greater resources, and had also a much wider field opened to their view. If we consider the state of naval science at the remote period in which the Greeks laid the foundation of their most flourishing settlements, we shall not be disposed to underrate their efforts because they were confined to one narrow sea, which is but a pool in comparison with the vast expanse of the Pacific or Atlantic ocean, which the modern navigator daily traverses in his intercourse with the distant colonies of his country.

What Greece effected was the result of her own unassisted exertions, prompted by none of that spirit of rivalry and jealousy which has actuated powerful states and princes of later times to engage in commercial schemes, by which they have succeeded in removing the ancient boundaries of the world. It would be of course ridiculous to compare the small republics of Sicily and Magna Græcia with the mighty empires which have been reared by successful colonization in the new hemisphere or in the Indies. But, inferior as these and other Greek settlements were in extent and importance to the colos-

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sal fabric which England more especially has raised on far distant shores, we may still highly and justly appreciate the national spirit and the prodigious energy which pervaded at that time the small population of Greece, by which she was enabled to fill the barbarian world with her sciences, her arts, and her institutions. When almost every rock or islet in the Ægean could boast of being the parent of a colony, and a bright line of noble and flourishing cities arose, like the beacon-fires which one of her greatest poets has described, to spread wide her fame and language, from the Borysthenes to the Iberus, and from the plains of Scythia to the Libyan deserts.

Of this extensive chain, the Italian colonies may be said to have formed no inconsiderable link; as indeed the name of Magna Græcia, which from them was attached to the foreign soil on which they had taken root, abundantly testifies[z]. It is true, that these small communities, thus detached and unconnected, added but little strength to the mother country. Often at enmity, and disunited among themselves, they present a picture of disturbances and dissensions similar to those which divided Greece. Their splendour also and prosperity were but transient, and the same shores which had been lined

[z] An inquiry has often been made, whence the name of Magna Græcia came to be applied to this part of Italy. But the popular notion which prevailed among the ancients, that it arose from the celebrity and great number of the Greek colonies established there, ought surely to suffice on that point, especially if we consider how many towns in that country laid claims to a similar origin. (Cf. Strab. VI. 253. Athen. XII. 5. Polyb. II. 39. Fest. v. Major Græcia. Just. XX. Plin. III. 5. Ovid. Fast. IV. 64.) Romanelli endeavours to prove that there was both a Magna and Parva Græcia; but the only authority for such a supposition is an obscure passage in Plautus. Topogr. Ant. t. i. p. 124.

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with fair and crowded cities, the seats of genius and the arts, soon became a melancholy scene of desolation and decay. But it is not from their political strength, or the space they occupy in the page of history, that we ought to estimate the importance of these settlements. It was in Italy that their influence was principally and most sensibly felt, long after they had ceased to rank amongst her flourishing cities, and when many of them had even sunk into a state of insignificance and ruin. By means of these colonies she had been initiated into the philosophy, poetry, and literature of Greece; and her artists had caught some of the inspiration of genius from the pure taste and noble style peculiar to that gifted country. It is to be regretted that no ancient writer has left us a connected history of these states of Magna Græcia; for though the names of Metapontum, Sybaris, Crotona, and Locri often occur in the early records of Grecian history, all that is there related of these republics is detached and incidental; and we must therefore rely principally upon the statements of later compilers, such as Diodorus Siculus, Justin, and Athenæus, which, however valuable, are not without suspicion of exaggeration, and certainly cannot boast of the same weight of testimony which the writings of Herodotus would carry with them. This great author only glances occasionally at the condition of the leading cities of Magna Græcia, and thus leaves room for regret that he did not more fully enter on a subject for which his long residence in this part of Italy must so peculiarly have qualified him. From Polybius, as well as from Strabo, we derive further important information relative to these colonies, so that we cannot be said to be

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wholly without materials for their history, though these cannot supply the deficiency occasioned by the loss of the works of Aristotle and Theophrastus, on the laws and institutions of the Italiot cities.

As I shall have occasion, in the course of this and the following section, to speak of each republic separately, it will only be necessary for me at present to lay before the reader a summary sketch of the history of Magna Græcia, and the different revolutions which that portion of Italy seems to have undergone, from the landing of the Greeks to its final subjugation by the Romans.

On the arrival of the Achæans, who were the first to establish themselves on the eastern coast of southern Italy[a], they found that country occupied by the Œnotri and Chones; but these were apparently too weak to resist the invaders, and as fresh colonies were formed, they gradually left that coast, and retired into the interior, and towards the western sea. The success which had attended the founding of Sybaris, Crotona, Metapontum, and Caulon by the Achæans, about 720 years A. C. induced other Greeks, not long after, to settle on the same coast. It was then Tarentum became a Spartan colony, and Loeri and Rhegium were built by the Opuntians and the Chalcidians. At a later period, the Ionians are said to have founded Siris, and the Athenians Scylletium.

Sybaris was at this time by far the most prosperous of these colonies, having extended its pos-

[a] I do not think it necessary here to speak of earlier Greek establishments, said to have been formed immediately after the siege of Troy, as that period belongs rather to mythology than to history.

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sessions to the Tyrrhenian sea, where it successively founded Posidonia, Laos, and Scidrus, with perhaps other towns in the interior of Lucania. Velia, on the same coast, was built by the Phocæans of Ionia after an unsuccessful attempt to establish themselves in Corsica.

The aggrandizement of the Achæan cities in particular seems to have been surprisingly rapid, owing probably to the judicious and liberal principles of policy they had derived from their metropolis, which, according to Polybius, was already distinguished for the soundness and wisdom of its institutions. (II. 39.) Jealousy of the rising power of the Tarentines, who sought to extend their dominions along the southern shore of the gulf named after their city, soon however gave a check to their prosperity, and disturbed their tranquillity. A war ensued, in which Siris, an Ionian colony, but probably at that time in the occupation of the Tarentines, was taken by the allied forces of the Metapontini, Sybaritæ, and Crotoniatæ, whose barbarity to its inhabitants is said to have brought down upon them the vengeance of Minerva Polias, the tutelary goddess of Siris. (Just. XX. 2.) But a treaty being concluded shortly after, it was agreed that the territory of Tarentum to the south should not exceed the limits of Iapygia, or the river Bradanus, which constituted the boundary of what was then called Italy.

The arrival of Pythagoras in that country about 540 years A. C. forms a remarkable epoch in the history of the Greek colonies. Polybius indeed seems to imply that the appellation of Magna Græcia was brought into general use at this time. (II. 39.) The Samian philosopher selected Crotona as the place of

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his residence, and established there the celebrated sect known in Greece by the name of the Italic school, but which was not merely restricted to Crotona, for it spread its influence over all the colonies, and, if we are to believe Cicero, throughout the barbarous nations of Italy. (de Sen. 12. Strab. VI. 263. Just. XX. 4.)

Not long after, a revolution ensued at Sybaris, and that city and Crotona were in consequence involved in a war which proved fatal to the former. The Sybarites were totally routed on the banks of the little river Traens, and their town soon after fell into the hands of the victorious enemy, by whom it was completely destroyed, about 510 years A. C. (Herod. V. 44.)

But the catastrophe which thus overwhelmed the most flourishing of the Italiot cities, was but a partial evil compared with the anarchy and confusion produced throughout Magna Græcia by a conspiracy formed against the Pythagorean sect. A faction, envious probably of the distinction and power to which the disciples of Pythagoras had arrived in almost every city, entertained the barbarous design of effecting their total destruction by a general insurrection of the populace throughout the several colonies. Their measures succeeded but too well; and a horrid massacre, beginning at Cortona, was carried on simultaneously through the other principal towns, till all the devoted Pythagoreans had been extirpated either by the sword or a decree of perpetual banishment. (Cf. Porphyr. vit. Pyth. Jambl. vit. Pyth. Diogen. Laert. VIII. 40.) The disturbances occasioned by these acts of violence and bloodshed were the more permanently and sensibly felt, as each

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state, from being thus deprived of its best and wisest citizens, became a prey to the ambitious designs of unprincipled demagogues. These tumults were however at length allayed, principally through the interference of the Achæans, to whose salutary counsels the disturbed cities seem to have paid extraordinary deference. (Polyb. II. 39.) We may perhaps ascribe to this revolution the small part which the colonies of Magna Græcia took in the defence of the mother country, when assailed by the mighty armament of Xerxes. One solitary vessel, equipped by a public-spirited individual, was all the assistance which Greece, in its utmost need, derived from her degenerate sons. (Herod. VIII. 17. Pausan. X. 9.) In proof however of the connexion which then subsisted between the two countries, we are told, that had Themistocles failed in persuading the Spartan Eurybiades to confide the issue of the war to a battle, he had formed the design of abandoning the confederacy, and founding a second Athens on the coast of Italy. In fact, it was not long after the signal victory obtained over the Persians by the confederates, that the Athenians established a colony in Magna Græcia, close to the ruins of Sybaris, under the name of Thurium, while the Tarentines founded the city of Heraclea, near the ancient Siris.

Little is known of the Italiot states during the Peloponnesian war. It appears however that the greater part were inclined to preserve a strict neutrality between the contending powers; for it is stated, that the Athenians, in their expedition to Sicily, could only obtain a scanty reinforcement from Metapontum and Thurium. (Thuc. VI. 44. and VII. 33.) Had the vast projects of Alcibiades

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been realized, the republics of Magna Græcia would no doubt have been exposed to his ambitious designs. But a nearer danger soon after threatened them from that power which had so successfully resisted the Athenian armament; for to the enmity of Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, are mainly to be attributed the subsequent disasters of the Italiot cities. The alarm which his designs upon Rhegium excited in the other states finally brought on a war, in which the allies met with a severe defeat near Caulon, when that city, together with Hipponium, fell into the hands of the tyrant, who razed the walls, and removed the inhabitants to Syracuse. Rhegium was soon after compelled to surrender, and endured every species of barbarity and oppression which that revengeful tyrant could inflict. He ravaged the territory of Crotona, and plundered the temple of Proserpine, near Locri; and it is probable that the dread of a formidable invasion on the part of the Carthaginians alone prevented this worthless prince from accomplishing the entire ruin of Magna Græcia. Not long after, death put a stop to his iniquitous career; but his son, Dionysius the younger, who, after his expulsion from Syracuse, had been generously received at Locri, became afterwards the scourge and pest of that unfortunate city. Agathocles likewise proved a bitter enemy to the Grecian colonies, now so much reduced as to be unable to defend themselves against these repeated aggressions. (Diod. Sic. XIV.—XVI. and Excerpt. XXI. Strab. VI. 253.)

But this was not all: other enemies nearer at hand, and more persevering in their hostilities, had now for some time been conspiring with these fo-

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reign foes to hasten the downfall of those republics. The tribes of Œnotri, Chones, and Itali, which, on the first arrival of the Greek settlers, retired to the mountains and forests of the interior, had gradually made way for the Lucani, a more numerous and warlike race, said to be of Samnitic origin. These, as their numbers increased, gradually advanced from the interior towards the coast, and were soon engaged in hostilities with the Greeks, who, unable to make good their defence on so many sides, gradually retreated; thus allowing their hardy and restless foes by degrees to obtain possession of all the settlements formed on the western coast. These aggressions of the Lucani and the Brutii, who were another branch of the same race, were for a season checked by the valour and ability of Alexander, king of Epirus; but upon his death, these barbarians renewed their inroads with increased confidence and success, making themselves masters of Thurii, Metapontum, Heraclea, with several other towns, and finally reducing the Grecian league to an empty name, with only the shadow of its former brilliancy and power.

Such was the state of things when the Romans appeared on the scene, and in their turn these barbarians were put to flight before their all conquering armies. The Lucani, unable to make any effectual resistance after Pyrrhus had withdrawn his forces from Italy, submitted to the victors; and the Brutii not long after following their example, the whole of Magna Græcia was annexed to the Roman dominions, thenceforth constituting two provinces under the names of Lucania and the Brutian territory, A. U. C. 480.

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The war which Hannibal carried on for so many years in this extremity of Italy completed its desolation and ruin; for with the exception of a few towns restored and colonized by the Romans, this once flourishing tract of country became a dreary waste, retaining only the ruins of deserted cities, as mournful relics of the late abodes of wisdom and genius.

Lucania, considered as a Roman province, was separated from Apulia by the Bradanus, and a line drawn from that river to the Silarus; which latter stream served also as a boundary on the side of Campania. To the south-west the river Laos divided the Lucani from the Brutii, as did also the Crathis to the south-east. (Strab. VI. 255.)

I shall begin my description of the province of Lucania by giving an account of the different towns situated on the eastern coast. To the south of the river Bradanus, the name of which occurs only in the Antonine Itinerary, now *Bradano*, was Metapontum, one of the most distinguished and celebrated of the Grecian colonies. The original name of this city appears to have been Metabum, which it is said was derived from Metabus, a hero to whom divine honours were paid. Some reports ascribed its foundation to a party of Pylians, on their return from Troy; and as a proof of this fact it was remarked, that the Metapontini formerly made an annual sacrifice to the Neleidæ. The prosperity of this ancient colony, the result of its attention to agriculture, was evinced by the offering of a harvest of gold to the oracle of Delphi[b]. (Strab. VI. 264.)

Bradanus fl.

Metapontum.

[b] The Greek words are θέρος χρυσοῦν, which commentators suppose to mean some golden sheaves. It is further remarked,

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It may be remarked also, that the Scholiasts of Homer identify Metapontum with the city which that poet calls Alyba [c] in the Odyssey. (Ω. 303.)

Εἰμὶ γὰρ ἐξ Ἀλύβαντος, ὅθι κλυτὰ δώματα ναίω.

(Cf. Eustath. Comment. Steph. Byz. v. Ἀλύβας. Tzet. Chil. XII.) Other traditions are recorded relative to the foundation of Metapontum by Strabo, which confirm at least its great antiquity. But his account of the destruction of the first town by the Samnites is obscure, and not to be clearly understood. It appears however that Metabum, if such was its name, was in a deserted state when a number of Achæans, invited for that purpose by the Sybarites, landed on the coast, and took possession of the town, which thenceforth was called Metapontum. (Antioch. Syrac. ap. Strab. VI. 265. Cf. Steph. Byz. v. Μεταπόντιον. Eustath. in Dion. Perieg. 368. Aristot. de Mirab. Justin. XX. 2.)

The Achæans, soon after their arrival, seem to have been engaged in a war with the Tarentini, and this led to a treaty by which the Bradanus was recognised as forming the separation of the two territories. (Antioch. Syrac. ap. Strab. loc. cit.) Pythagoras was held in particular estimation by the Metapontini, in whose city he is reported to have resided for many years. After his death, the house which he had in-

that the coins of Metapontum, which are so much admired as works of art, have a head of Ceres, and on the reverse an ear of corn. Winckelmann, l'art du dessin chez les Anciens, t. ii. p. 138. Sestini, Monet. Vet. p. 16. Mionnet, Med. des Anc. Suppl. t. i. p. 301.

[c] The mention of Sicania in the same passage seems to confirm the opinion of the commentators. It is, I believe, the only place in which the name of that island occurs in Homer.

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habited was converted into a temple of Ceres. (Jambl. vit. Pyth. I. 30. Cic. de Fin. V. 2. Liv. I. 18.)

We find this town incidentally mentioned by Herodotus, with reference to Aristeas of Proconnesus, who was said to have been seen here 340 years after having disappeared from Cyzicus. Its inhabitants, after consulting the oracle upon this supernatural event, erected a statue to the poet in their Forum, and surrounded it with laurel. (IV. 15.)

In the Peloponnesian war, we find an alliance formed between Metapontum and Athens, to which power it furnished some light troops and two galleys for the Sicilian expedition. (Thuc. VII. 33.)

This city still retained its independence when Alexander of Epirus passed over into Italy. Livy, who notices that fact, states, that the remains of this unfortunate prince were conveyed here previous to their being carried over into Greece. (VIII. 24.) It fell however, ultimately, into the hands of the Romans, together with the other colonies of Magna Græcia, on the retreat of Pyrrhus, and with them revolted in favour of Hannibal, after his victory at Cannæ. (Liv. XXII. 15.) We are not informed on what occasion the Romans recovered possession of Metapontum, but it must have been shortly after, as they sent a force from thence to the succour of the citadel of Tarentum, which was the means of preserving that fortress. (Liv. XXV. 11. Polyb. VIII. 36.) It appears however to have been again in the hands of the Carthaginians. (Liv. XXVII. 16.)

In the time of Pausanias this city was a heap of ruins; as he states that nothing remained standing but the walls and theatre. (Pausan. Eliac. VI. 19.)

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The other authors who have spoken of this place, are Scylax. Peripl. p. 5. Scymn. Ch. v. 326. Mel. II. 4. Plin. III. 11. Ptol. p. 6. Considerable vestiges, situated near the station called *Torre di Mare*, on the coast, indicate its ancient position [d].

Casuentus fl. Acalandrus fl. Heraclea. Aciris fl.

The rivers *Basiento* and *Salandella*, which we cross soon after, are the Casuentus and Acalandrus of Pliny. (III. 11.)

Heraclea, situated between the Aciris and Liris, was founded by the Tarentini after the destruction of the ancient city of Siris, which stood at the mouth of the latter river. A. C. 428. (Strab. VI. 263. Diod. Sic. XII. 36.) This city is rendered remarkable in history, as being the seat of the general council of the Greek states [e]. Alexander of Epirus is said to have attempted to remove the assembly from the territory of the Tarentines, who had given him cause for displeasure, to that of Thurii. (Strab. VI. 280.) Heraclea is noticed by Livy. (I. 18. and VIII. 24. Plut. vit. Pyrr. Cicer. pro Balb. 22. Plin. III. 11.) Antiquaries seem agreed in fixing the site of this town at *Policoro*, about three miles from the mouth of the river Aciris, now *Agri* [f], where considerable remains are yet visible.

On the right bank of the same river, and about

[d] Swinburne's Travels, sect. 36. p. 273. Antonini, Lucania. p. 3. disc. 5. Romanelli, t. i. p. 275.

[e] This fact has been further confirmed by the discovery of the celebrated bronze tables near this city, on which so much erudition and labour have been bestowed by the learned Mazzocchi. The coins of this city generally represent Hercules contending with the lion. The epigraph is HPA. or HPAKΛHIΩN. Mionnet, Med. des Anc. Suppl. t. i. p. 295. Sestini, Monet. Vet. p. 16.

[f] Mazzocchi, Prodr. ad Heracl. Pseph. Diatr. II. 7. Romanelli, t. i. p. 257.

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five miles from the ruins of Heraclea, is *Anglona*, supposed to represent Pandosia, which we know was not far distant from thence; as Plutarch, in his life of Pyrrhus, states that the first battle in which that monarch defeated the Romans was fought between Heraclea and Pandosia, and other writers affirm that the action took place near the former town. (Flor. I. 18. Oros. IV. 1.) The bronze tables of Heraclea also distinctly mention Pandosia as being in its neighbourhood; a great question however has arisen among topographers relative to this place, which remains still undecided. Are we to identify this city with the well known Pandosia, which Strabo and Livy allude to in speaking of Alexander king of Epirus, who met his death in its vicinity? I apprehend we ought to decide in the negative, for reasons which will be subsequently stated. And this is likewise the opinion of Mazzocchi[g], Holstenius[h], and other modern antiquaries[i]. Romanelli, however, endeavours to adapt all the citations of ancient writers to one and the same city, which he places at *Anglona*[k]. Pandosia Lucana.

A passage of Aristotle, wherein he speaks of the footsteps of Hercules being shewn near Pandosia, a town of Iapygia, (de Mirab.) may with more probability be referred to this city.

Siris, situated at the mouth of the river of the same name, now *Sinno*, was said to have been founded by a Trojan colony[l], which was afterwards expelled by Siris.

[g] Diatr. in Tab. Heracl. II. 6.

[h] Adnot. p. 308.

[i] Sertor. Quattrim. ad Barr. Not. p. 77. Grimaldi, Annal. del. regn. di Nap. t. iii. p. 114.

[k] T. i. p. 265.

[l] This passage is disputed, but the reading adopted by the French editor of Strabo seems the best. See his note, t. ii. p. 335.

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some Ionians, who migrated from Colophon under the reign of Alyattes king of Lydia; and having taken the town by force, changed its name to that of Poliæum. (Strab. VI. 264. Aristot. de Mirab. Athen. XII. 45. Lycophr. v. 978. Steph. Byz. v. Σίρις.) The earliest writer who has mentioned this ancient city is the poet Archilochus cited by Athenæus; (XII. 5.) he speaks with admiration of the surrounding country, and in a manner which proves that he was well acquainted with its beauties.

Οὐ γάρ τι καλὸς χῶρος, οὐδ' ἐφίμερος,
Οὐδ' ἐρατὸς, οἷος ἀμφὶ Σίριος ῥοάς.

In the passage from which this quotation is taken, Athenæus represents the inhabitants of Siris as rivalling in all respects the luxury and affluence of the Sybarites; and Herodotus enumerates two citizens, of Siris and Sybaris, among the suitors of Agariste, daughter of Cleisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon. These cities, about 540 years A. C. had reached at that period the summit of their prosperity and opulence. Shortly afterwards, according to Justin, (XX. 2.) Siris was almost destroyed in a war with the neighbouring towns of Metapontum and Sybaris. We should be led however to imply from the expression of Themistocles in Herodotus, that if the Lacedæmonians did not await the enemy at Salamis, the Athenians would sail to Italy and found Siris; that this city was then deserted. (VIII. 62.) Finally, when the Tarentines settled at Heraclea, they removed all the Sirites to the new town of which Siris became the harbour. (Diod. Sic. XII. 36. Strab. VI. 263.) No vestiges of this ancient colony are now

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apparent, but it stood probably on the left bank, and at the mouth of the *Sinno* [m]. This river, somewhat higher up, receives the little stream of *Serrapotomo*, which may be the Syrapus of Vibius Sequester. (de flum. et font.) Syrapus fl.

About twelve miles to the south-west of Siris is the village of *Nucara* [n], supposed to represent the ancient Lagaria, said to have been founded by a party of Phocians, headed by Epæus the architect of the wooden horse. (Strab. VI. 263. Lycophr. v. 930. Aristot. de Mirab.) The wine of this district was in great repute, (Strab. loc. cit. Plin. XIV. 6. Athen. I. 47.) and is still much esteemed [o]. A little beyond is the small river *Calandro* [p], the name of which bears some affinity to the Acalandrus, mentioned by Strabo as flowing in the vicinity of Thurii. (VI. 283.) We have already noticed another stream of that name near Metapontum. Lagaria. Acalandrus fl.

Leutarnia, an ancient city named by Lycophron only, is supposed by the topographers of *Calabria* to be *Albidona* [q]. Leutarnia.

Πολλοὶ δὲ Σῖριν ἄμφι καὶ Λευταρνίαν
Ἄρουραν οἰκήσουσιν. v. 978.

The river Cylistarnus, noticed by the same poet, Cylistarnus fl.

[m] The antiquity of Siris is further evinced by its coins, the style and character of which are of a very remote date. Some of these have the epigraph ϹEIRIϗ, others ϹEI and ϹIR. A very rare and curious one indicates an alliance between Pyxus, or Buxentum, and Siris. The inscriptionisΓVϏOEM-MONIqIM i. e. Pyxoes-Sirinos: the latter word is written backwards. Sestini, Monet. Vet. p. 17. Lanzi, t. i. p. 106.

[n] Cluver. Ital. Antiq. II. p. 1272. Mazzocchi, Diatr. I. 5. Antonini, Lucan. p. iii. disc. 2.

[o] Romanelli, t. i. p. 248.

[p] Id. t. i. p. 245.

[q] Barrio, de ant. et sit. Calabr. l. v. c. 18. Antonini, Lucan. p. iii. disc. 1.

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is generally identified with the little stream now called *Racanello*[r].

Ὅς ἀμφὶ Σῖριν καὶ Κυλιστάρνου γάνος
Ἔπηλυς οἴκους τῆλε νάσσεται πάτρας. v. 946.

Cossa. Near its source antiquaries place Cossa, an inland Œnotrian city, as Stephanus Byz. reports, on the authority of Hecatæus. (v. Κόσσα.) Cæsar, who calls it Cosa, states, that T. Annius Milo was slain before its walls, when besieging the place in Pompey's cause. (Civ. Bell. III. 22.) Pliny, who adverts to the same event, terms this place "Castellum Carissanum," but some MSS. read "Cosanum." Cluverius was nearly correct in his supposition that *Cassano* might occupy the site of this ancient town[s]; for more modern topographers have in fact discovered its ruins at *Cività*, a village close to the former place[t].

Sybaris. Sybaris, situated between the river of the same name and the Crathis, was founded, as it is said, by the people of Trœzene, not long after the siege of Troy; (Aristot. Polit. V. 3. Solin. 8.) but these were subsequently joined by a more numerous colony of Achæans, under the conduct of Iseliceus, (Strab. VI. 263.) about the year 720. A. C. (Euseb. Chron. II.) The rise and progress of this celebrated republic must have been wonderfully rapid. We are told that it held dominion over four different people and twenty-five towns; and that the city extended fifty stadia, or upwards of six miles, along the Crathis. But the number of its inhabitants, which are computed at 300,000 by several ancient writers, and

[r] Barrio, de ant. et sit. Calabr. l. v. c. 18. Antonin. loc. cit.

[s] Ital. Ant. II. 1205.

[t] Anton. Lucan. p. iii. disc. 1. Romanelli, t. i. p. 240.

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which are said to have been actually brought into the field, is so prodigious as to raise considerable doubts as to the accuracy of these statements[u]. (Strab. loc. cit. Diod. Sic. XII.) The accounts which we have of their luxury and opulence are not less extraordinary: to such a degree indeed did they indulge their taste for pleasure, that a Sybarite and a voluptuary became synonymous terms. Athenæus in particular dwells on their inordinate sensuality and excessive refinement. His details are chiefly drawn from Timæus, Phylarchus, and Aristotle. Among other particulars which he gives, upon the authority of these Greek writers, are the following. It was forbidden by law to exercise in the city any trade or craft, the practice of which was attended with noise, lest the sleep of its inhabitants might be disturbed; and for the same reason an edict was enforced against the breeding of cocks. On the other hand, great encouragement was held out to all who should discover any new refinement in luxury, the profits arising from which were secured to the inventor by patent for the space of a year. Fishermen and dyers of purple were especially exempted from the payment of taxes and duties. A crown of gold was awarded to those who

[u] See a paper of Gibbon, entitled, "Remarques critiques sur "le nombre des habitans dans "la cité des Sybarites." Misc. Works, vol. iii. p. 80. Also Mitford's Greece, t. ii. note, p. 284. The army of the Sybarites, in the war with Crotona, was estimated at 300,000 men; but a great portion of these forces might have been barbarians, the dependants of Sybaris. On this supposition, the above number is not so incredible. There is every reason to believe indeed that the population of the native Italians was very great, from what we hear of the armies raised by the Tuscans, Samnites, &c. Aristotle was particularly struck with the fecundity of the Umbrian women. ap. Steph. Byz. v. Ὄμβρικοι.

distinguished themselves by the sumptuousness of their entertainments, and their names were proclaimed by heralds at the solemn festivals as public benefactors. To these banquets their women were also admitted, and invitations were sent them a year in advance, that they might have sufficient time to provide themselves with dresses suitable to the occasion. These were of the most costly description, generally purple or saffron-coloured, and of the finest Milesian wool. Dionysius of Syracuse having become possessed of one of their robes, which was esteemed a singular rarity from its peculiar magnificence, sold it to the Carthaginians for 120 talents, upwards of 20,000*l*. When they retired to their villas, the roads were covered with an awning, and the journey, which might easily have been accomplished in one day, was the work of three. Their cellars were generally constructed near the sea side, whither the wine was conveyed from the country by means of pipes.

The Sybarites are also said to have invented vapour baths; and so cautious were they of appearing in the sun, that it was commonly said that no Sybarite, unless he wished to die before his appointed day, should ever view its orb, whether rising or setting.

History has recorded the name of one individual famed beyond all his countrymen for his effeminacy and sensuality. Smindyrides, the son of Hippocrates, is stated by Herodotus to have been by far the most luxurious man that ever lived. (VI. 127.) It is reported that when he went to Sicyon, as suitor to the daughter of Cleisthenes, tyrant of that city, he was accompanied by a train of a thousand cooks and

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fowlers, and that he far surpassed that prince and all his court in magnificence and splendour. (Athen. XII. 3. et seq.)

But this prosperity and excess of luxury were not of long duration; and the fall of Sybaris was hastened with a rapidity only equalled by that of its sudden elevation. The events which led to this catastrophe are thus related by Diodorus Siculus. A democratical party, at the head of which was Telys, having gained the ascendency, expelled five hundred of the principal citizens, who sought refuge at Crotona. This city, upon receiving a summons to give up the fugitives, or to prepare for war, by the advice of Pythagoras, made choice of the latter alternative; and the hostile armies met near the river Traens, in the Crotoniat territory. The forces of that city, headed by the celebrated Milo, amounted to 100,000 men, while those of Sybaris were triple that number: the former, however, gained a complete victory, and but few of the Sybarites escaped from the sword of the enemy in the rout which ensued. The victorious Crotoniatæ, following up their success, advanced against Sybaris, and finding it in a defenceless state, totally destroyed the town, by turning the waters of the Crathis, and thus overwhelming it with the inundation. This event is supposed to have happened nearly 510 years A. C. (Diod. Sic. XII. 9. Herod. V. 44. Strab. VI. 263. Aristot. ap. Athen. XII. 3. Scymn. Ch. v. 336. Plin. VII. 22.) The greater part of the Sybarites who escaped from the general destruction retired to their colonies on the Tyrrhenian sea; but a small remnant still adhered to their native soil, and endeavoured to restore the fallen city.

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A colony, which was sent out by the Athenians, at the instigation of Pericles, under the command of Lampon and Xenocritus, arrived on this coast about fifty-five years after the overthrow of Sybaris, and erected a new town, which they called Thurii, at no great distance from the former site. Two celebrated characters are named among those who joined this expedition, which was collected from different parts of Greece; these were Herodotus and Lysias the orator. (Aristot. de Rhet. III. 9. Dion. Hal. de Lys. p. 452. Suid. v. Ἡρόδοτος et Λύσιας. Plin. XII. 4.)

Thurii postea Copiæ.

Diodorus gives us a very full account of the foundation of this town, the form and manner in which it was built, and the constitution it adopted: its laws were framed chiefly after the code of the celebrated legislators Zaleucus and Charondas. (Diod. Sic. XII. 10.) The government of Thurii seems to have excited the attention of Aristotle also on more than one occasion. (Polit. V. 4. et seq.) This Athenian colony attained a considerable degree of prosperity and power: it entered into an alliance with Crotona, and engaged in hostilities against Tarentum, in order to obtain possession of the territory which formerly belonged to Siris. (Antioch. Syrac. Strab. VI. 264.) In the Peloponnesian war, the Thurians are mentioned as allied to the Athenians, and as furnishing them with some few ships and men for their Sicilian expedition. (Thuc. VII. 35.) Subsequently the attacks of the Lucani, from whom, as Diodorus relates, (XIV. 101.) they sustained a severe defeat, and at a still later period the enmity of the Tarentines so reduced the prosperity and power of the Thurians, that they were compelled to seek the aid

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of Rome, which was thus involved in a war with Tarentum. About eighty-eight years afterwards, Thurii, being nearly deserted, received a Roman colony, and took the name of Copia. (Strab. VI. 263. Liv. XXXV. 9. Steph. Byz. v. Θούριοι.) Cæsar, however, calls it Thurii, and designates it a municipal town. (Civ. Bell. III. 22.)

As Sybaris was entirely destroyed, no ruins remain to guide us in our search of its position. Swinburne imagined, however, that he had discovered some vestiges of this city about three miles from the coast. Romanelli states, that a junction of the Crathis and Sybaris now takes place nearly fourteen miles from the common mouth, by which they discharge their waters into the sea [x].

The former of these rivers, now *Crati*, was reputed to have the effect of turning white the hair of those who bathed in its waters, which were, however, accounted salutary for various disorders. (Strab. VI. 263.) Crathis fl.

Τάν τ' ἀγχιστεύουσαν γᾶν
Ἰονίῳ ναίεσθαι πόντῳ,
Ἂν ὑγραίνει καλλιστεύων
Ὁ ξανθὰν χαίταν πυρσαίνων
Κρᾶθις, ζαθέαις πηγαῖσι τρέφων
Εὔανδρόν τ' ὀλβίζων γᾶν. EUR. TROAD. 224.

There was likewise a stream of the same name in Achaia, from whence the Italian Crathis derived its appellation. (Herod. I. 145. Strab. VIII. 386.)

The waters of the Sybaris *Cochile* were said to render horses shy. (Strab. VI. 263. Ælian. Hist. Anim. II. 36.) Sybaris fl.

[x] Swinburne's Travels, sect. 38. p. 291. Romanelli, t. i. p. 235. See also a note to the French Strabo, t. ii. p. 332.

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Crathis, et huic Sybaris, nostris conterminus arvis
Electro similes faciunt auroque capillos.
OVID. METAM. XV. 315.

Thurii should be placed at a greater distance from the sea than Sybaris, and between the probable position of that town and *Terra Nova*[y]. Some antiquaries indeed have assigned the latter site to this ancient city; but Cluverius observes justly, that it is too remote from the coast, being no less than twelve miles inland[z]. The same geographer makes a distinction between Copia and Thurii, placing the former at the *Torre del Cupo*, close to the mouth of the Crathis[a]; but the testimony of Strabo seems decisive as to the identity of the two towns[b].

Having now examined the whole of the eastern coast of Lucania, I shall cross over to the other sea, in order to describe the towns and other remarkable places on its shores.

Silarus fl. The Silarus, which divides this province from Campania, takes its rise in that part of the Apennines which formerly belonged to the Hirpini; and after receiving the Tanager, now *Negro*, and the Calor, *Calore*, empties itself into the gulf of *Salerno*. The waters of this river are stated by ancient writers to have possessed the property of incrusting, by means of a calcareous deposition, any pieces

[y] Romanelli, t. i. p. 233.

[z] Barrio, l. v. c. 7. Gir. Marafioti. Chron. et Antich. Calabr. l. iv. c. 6. Cluver. Ital. Antiq. II. p. 1270.

[a] Id. Ital. Antiq. loc. cit.

[b] There are coins with the legend COΠIA, and the same emblems as those of Thurii, the inscription of which is ΘOΥ. and ΘOΥΡIΩN. The medals of Sybaris are more scarce. Those of great antiquity are *incusi*; the legend is ZV and ΣVBA, but in retrograde characters. The more modern coins are of great beauty. Sestini, Monet. Vet. p. 17. Mionnet, Med. Anc. Suppl. t. i. p. 306.

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of wood or twigs which were thrown into them[c]. (Strab. V. 251. Plin. II. 106.)

> Nunc Silarus quos nutrit aquis, quo gurgite tradunt
> Duritiem lapidum mersis inolescere ramis.
>
> SIL. ITAL. VIII. 582.

The Silarus is alluded to by Virgil and by Lucan.

> Est lucos Silari juxta, ilicibusque virentem
> Plurimus Alburnum volitans. GEORG. III. 146.
>
> . . . . . radensque Salerni
> Culta Siler. LUCAN. II. 425.

Portus Alburnus.

At its mouth was a haven named Portus Alburnus, as we learn from a verse of Lucilius, cited by Probus, the grammarian, in his commentary on the above passage of Virgil.

> Quatuor hinc ad Silarum flumen, portumque Alburnum.

Templum Junonis Argivæ.

A little further from the coast was a celebrated temple of Juno Argiva, said to have been erected by Jason and the Argonauts. Strabo distinctly places it on the left bank of the Silarus, and consequently in Lucania; (V. 251.) but Pliny as decidedly assigns it to the Picentini. (III. 6.) These two contradictory reports have not a little puzzled antiquaries, most of whom, however, side with the Latin geographer. Cluverius imagined this edifice to have been a work of the Tyrrheni, and therefore was inclined to fix it at Marcina, a settlement of this people, which has been noticed in the Picentine territory, near *Salerno*[d]. Holstenius followed the common opinion, which ascribed to this temple the position of *Gifuni*, about eighteen miles from the

[c] This fact is confirmed by baron Antonini, della Lucania, p. ii. disc. 1.

[d] Ital. Antiq. II. p. 1254.

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coast, the name of which might seem to be a corruption of Junonis Fanum[e]. Others however prefer adhering to the topography of Strabo, which seems to be supported by the authority of Plutarch, who, in speaking of the depredations committed by pirates before their audacity had been repressed by Pompey, states, that among other sanctuaries they had violated and plundered that of Juno in Lucania[f]. (Plut. vit. Pomp.)

Posidonia vel Pæstum.

About fifty stadia further on, according to Strabo, was Posidonia, the ruins of which are so celebrated under its Latin name of Pæstum, and remain to this day noble records of the genius and taste which inspired the architects of Greece. The origin of this once flourishing city has afforded matter of much discussion to antiquaries; but it seems now generally determined, that whether the Œnotri or Tyrrheni[g] were the original possessors of this coast, they can lay no claim to those majestic piles which form the admiration and wonder of all who have visited them. The temples of Pæstum too closely resemble in their plan and mode of structure the early edifices of Greece and Sicily, to be the work

[e] Adnot. p. 285.

[f] Antonin. della Lucan. p. ii. disc. 1. Romanelli, t. i. p. 338.

[g] Those who contend for an earlier origin than that which history assigns to Pæstum, adduce in support of their opinion the Oscan or Etruscan coins of this city, with such barbarous legends as PHISTV. PHISTVL. PHISTELIA. PHISTVLIS. and PHIIS. A very eminent numismatic writer, however, attributes them to a different town; but even supposing that they ought to be referred to Pæstum, it must be proved that they are of an earlier date than those with the retrograde Greek inscriptions ΠΟΜ. ΠΟΣΕΙ. ΠΟΣΕΙΔΑΝ. ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝΕΑ. Others inscribed ΠΑΕΣ. ΠΑΙΣ. ΠΑΙΣΤΑΝΟ, are more recent, and belong to Pæstum, in its character of a Roman colony. Sestini, Monet. Vet. p. 16. and 14. Paoli, Rovine della città di Pesto. Tav. 49. Micali, t. i. p. 233. Romanelli, t. i. p. 332.

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of any of the native tribes of Italy[h]. The Tuscans, to whom alone they could be referred, have left us no example of a similar style in any of their architectural monuments. Strabo is the only ancient writer who has transmitted to us any positive account of the foundation of Posidonia. He states that it was built by a colony of Sybarites, close to the shore in the first instance, but that it was afterwards removed further into the country. (V. 251.) This account is further confirmed by Scymnus, of Chios, and agrees with what we know of the extent of dominion possessed by Sybaris at an early period on this sea, where she founded also the towns of Laus and Scidrus[i]. (Herod. VI. 21.)

> Προσεχεῖς δὲ τούτοις εἰσὶ πάλιν Οἰνώτροι,
> Μέχρι τῆς Ποσειδωνιάδος ὠνομασμένης,
> Ἣν φασι Συβαρίτας ἀποικίσαι ποτέ.
>
> PERIEG. v. 243.

We are left in uncertainty as to the exact date of this establishment of the Sybarites; but we have two fixed points which may assist us in forming a right conclusion on the subject. The first is the foundation of Sybaris itself, which took place about 720 years A. C.; the other is that of Velia, a Phocæan colony, built, as we learn from Herodotus, in the reign of Cyrus, or nearly 540 years A. C. It

[h] It is singular that no ancient writer has alluded to the temples of Pæstum, the most striking edifices unquestionably which have survived the dilapidations of time and the barbarians in Italy. But perhaps the early style of architecture which they exhibit was not much thought of; and it does not appear that the ancients had much taste for ruins.

[i] The connection which subsisted between Sybaris and Posidonia is also attested by a rare coin belonging to the latter city. Sestini, Monet. Vet. p. 16.

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will be seen by that historian's account of the events which induced the Phocæans to settle on the shores of Œnotria, that they were chiefly led to form this resolution by the advice of a citizen of Posidonia. (I. 167.) It may thence reasonably be supposed, that the latter city had already existed for twenty or thirty years. There are but few other particulars on record relative to its history. That it must have attained a considerable degree of prosperity, is evident from the circumstance of its name having been attached to the present gulf of *Salerno;* and we possess yet further confirmation of the fact, in the splendid monuments which age has not yet been able to deface or destroy.

It appears from Strabo, that the Posidoniatæ, jealous of the aggrandizement of Velia, endeavoured more than once to reduce that town to subjection: these attempts however proved fruitless; and not long after they were called upon to defend themselves against the aggressions of the Lucani, the most determined and dangerous of all the enemies with whom the Greeks had to contend. After an unsuccessful resistance, they were at length compelled to acknowledge the superiority of these barbarians, and to submit to their authority. It was probably to rescue Posidonia from their yoke that Alexander of Epirus landed here with a considerable army, and defeated the united forces of the Lucanians and Samnites, in the vicinity of that town. (Liv. VIII. 17.) The Romans having subsequently conquered the Lucani, became possessed of Posidonia, whither they sent a colony, A. U. C. 480. (Liv. Epit. XIV. and XXVII. 10. Strab. V. 251. Plin. III. 5.) The loss of their liberty, even

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under these more distinguished conquerors, and still more the abolition of their usages and habits as Greeks, seem to have been particularly afflicting to the Posidoniatæ. Aristoxenus, a celebrated musician and philosopher of Tarentum, who is quoted by Athenæus, thus feelingly depicts the distress of this hapless people. "We follow the example," says this writer, "of the Posidoniatæ, who, having "been compelled to become Tuscans, or rather Ro- "mans, instead of Greeks, and to adopt the lan- "guage and institutions of barbarians, still, how- "ever, annually commemorate one of the solemn "festivals of Greece. On that day, it is their cus- "tom to assemble together, in order to revive the "recollection of their ancient rites and language, "and to lament and shed tears in common over "their sad destiny: after which they retire in si- "lence to their homes." (Athen. X. 11.) At the time that Scylax wrote, Posidonia appears to have still enjoyed its independence. (Peripl. p. 3.)

The unhealthy situation of Pæstum, which has been remarked by Strabo, may probably have prevented that colony from attaining to any degree of importance; and as it was placed on an unfrequented coast, (Cic. ad Att. XI. 17.) and had no trade of its own, it soon decayed, and we find it only noticed by subsequent writers for the celebrity of its roses, which were said to bloom twice in the year.

Forsitan et, pingues hortos quæ cura colendi
Ornaret, canerem, biferique rosaria Pæsti.
GEORG. IV. 118.

Vidi ego odorati victura rosaria Pæsti
Sub matutino cocta jacere noto.
PROPERT. IV. EL. 5.

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Leucosiamque petit, tepidique rosaria Pæsti.
OVID. METAM. XV. 708.

Calthaque Pæstanas vincet odore rosas.
ID. PONTIC. II. Ep. 4.

Vidi Pæstano gaudere rosaria cultu,
Exoriente novo roscida Lucifero.
AUSON. IDYL. XIV.

Pæstum is classed among the towns of Lucania by Mela (II. 4.) and Ptolemy [k]. (p. 67.)

Posidoniates vel Pæstanus Sinus.

The gulf, which took its name from Posidonia, and afterwards from Pæstum, is stated by Strabo to have extended from the Siren's cape to the promontory of Posidium, now *Punta di Licosa*. (Strab. V. 251. Cic. ad Att. XVI. 6. Mel. II. 4. Plin. III. 5.)

Stagnum Lucanum.

In the immediate vicinity of Pæstum were some salt marshes, which are also alluded to by that historian as well as by Plutarch; the latter mentions that Crassus here defeated a considerable body of rebels under the command of Spartacus. (Plut. vit. Crass.) In this district we must also place the Mons Calamatius and Mons Cathena, of which Frontinus speaks in reference to the same event; (Stratagem. II. 4.) they are the mountains of *Capaccio* [l].

Calamatius Mons. Cathena Mons.

Nearer the coast is *Vatolla*, which, as we learn from an inscription cited by Antonini, was anciently Vicus Vatolanus [m].

Vicus Vatolanus.

[k] It may be proper to remark here, that a modern traveller, who has described the ruins of Pæstum with great taste and feeling, was under an error, when he spoke of the site of Posidonia as being different from that of Pæstum; he was misled, apparently, by the authority of Mazzocchi, who looked upon the latter as the work of the Phœnicians. Eustace's Classical Tour. vol. iii. p. 110. The reader will find some judicious observations on the buildings of Pæstum, in Mitford's History of Greece, vol. ii. note to p. 299.

[l] Cluver. Ital. Antiq. II. p. 1256. Antonin. della Lucan. p. ii. disc. 5.

[m] Della Lucan. loc. cit.

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The range of mountains which rises to the east of this place, about *Stella* and *Lauriano*, appears to have been formerly known by the name of Petilini Montes. This is proved from Plutarch, who reports that Spartacus, after the action above alluded to, with Crassus, retired in that direction. (Plut. loc. cit.) This passage has been of some importance in confirming the discovery of an able modern antiquary respecting the site of an ancient town hitherto unknown, I mean Petilia of the Lucani. Strabo is the only author who seems to have given any hint of the existence of such a place; but by confusing its topography with that of another Petilia, better known from the tradition which attributed its foundation to Philoctetes, he has misled many antiquaries on the point in question. Strabo, in his general description of the inland towns of the Lucani, remarks, that the chief town of this people was Petelia, which could at that time boast of a considerable population; he adds, that it was built by Philoctetes, who had been forced by an adverse faction to quit Thessaly, his native country; and that on account of the strength of its position, the Samnites had been obliged to construct forts around it for the defence of their territory. (VI. 254.) It is observed by Antonini, the writer above alluded to, that Strabo here contradicts himself, by ascribing to Philoctetes the origin of a town of Lucania; whilst that hero is said, in a few lines further on, to have occupied a part of the coast near Crotona, which was certainly in the territory of the Brutii. It will be seen, in fact, that all the ancient authors agree in the maritime situation of the colonies founded by the Grecian chieftain. This error of Strabo does not however affect the truth of his

Petilini Montes.

Petilia Lucanorum.

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account with reference to the Lucanian Petilia; and Antonini has adduced, in confirmation of the authority of that writer, so many inscriptions of early date, together with more recent documents, that it seems impossible to entertain further doubts on the subject. He has recognised the ruins of this ancient town precisely on the *Monte della Stella* [n].

Posidium promontorium.

Returning to the coast, we have to notice the promontory which encloses the gulf of *Salerno* to the south, now *Punta di Licosa*. Strabo does not mention its name, but Lycophron terms it Enipeum.

'Ακτὴν δὲ τὴν προὔχουσαν εἰς 'Ενιπέως
Λευκωσία ῥιφεῖσα, τὴν ἐπώνυμον
Πέτραν ὀχήσει δαρόν. ἔνθα λάβρος Ἶς,
Γείτων θ' ὁ Λάρις ἐξερεύγονται ποτά. v. 722.

The commentators here observe, that by the point of Enipeus the poet designates the promontory commonly called Posidium, Enipeus being a name given to Neptune. It appears from the letters of Symmachus, that this spot possessed sufficient attraction to induce the Romans to erect villas there. (V. Epist. 13. and VI. 25.) The little island of Leucosia was said to derive its name from one of the Sirens, as we learn from the above passage of Lycophron and from Strabo. (VI. 252.) Dionysius calls it Leucasia. (I. 53.)

Leucosia insula.

Leucosiamque petit, tepidique rosaria Præsti.
Ovid. Metam. XV. 708.

[n] Antonin. della Lucan. p. i. disc. 8. Romanelli, t. i. p. 350. It is not improbable that the coins, which have been already spoken of under the head of Pæstum, with the Oscan epigraphs PHISTU, PHISTULIS, and PHISTELIA, really belonged to this Petilia, as they are commonly found in its vicinity.

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It is now known by the name of *Licosa* [o], and sometimes by that of *Isola piana* [p]. It was once probably inhabited, as several vestiges of buildings were discovered there in 1696 [q].

The rivers Is and Laris, of which Lycophron speaks in the lines I have quoted, are said to be two small streams which flow into the sea a little to the north of the *Punta di Licosa*, and they retain some traces of their ancient names in those of *Isso* and *Lao* [r]. Is fl. Laris fl.

Beyond is a more considerable river, now called *Alento*, but anciently Heles, or Elees; Strabo uses the latter name, (VI. 252.) while Cicero, who styles it *nobilem amnem*, designates it by the former. (ad Fam. VII. Ep. 20. ad Att. XVI. Ep. 7.) It is said to have communicated its name to the city of Velia, (Strab. loc. cit. Steph. Byz. v. Ἐλέα.) situated about three miles from its left bank. The Phocæans, to whom this town owed its origin, called it Hyele, which the Latins afterwards changed to Velia. Hyele sive Velia.

The events which led to the foundation of this Grecian colony are stated at considerable length by Herodotus. That historian relates, that the Phocæans of Ionia being besieged by the forces of Cyrus, after the overthrow of Crœsus, resolved, in order to avoid the fate which threatened them, to abandon their native city, and to form another settlement in some distant land. Being at that time the first navigators of the age, and well acquainted with every part of the Mediterranean, they embarked their fa-

[o] Cluver. Ital. Antiq. II. p. 1259. Holsten. Adnot. p. 285.

[p] See Zannoni's map of the kingdom of Naples.

[q] Antonin. della Lucan. p. ii. disc. 8.

[r] Romanelli, t. i. p. 342.

milies, together with their most valuable possessions, and made sail, in the first instance, to Chios; but having failed in persuading its inhabitants to allow them to occupy some islets in their vicinity, they determined to proceed to Corsica, where they had already founded a colony twenty years previous to these events. On their arrival, they were kindly received by their countrymen, who allowed them to settle in the city of Alalia, which they had built. Here they remained five years, during which time they committed many acts of depredation and piracy on the surrounding nations. The Tuscans and Carthaginians at length joined forces in order to revenge these outrages, and brought the fleet of the Phocæans to action off Sardinia. The latter, though inferior in the number of their ships, are said to have gained the day, but they lost forty of their vessels, and the rest were so crippled and disabled as to preclude all hope of further resistance if their enemies should renew the engagement. They returned therefore to Alalia, and having removed from thence all that they possessed, sailed to Rhegium, where they met with a friendly reception, and were enabled to refit; after which they once more set out in quest of a settlement, and, by the advice of an inhabitant of Posidonia, established themselves on the shores of Œnotria, where they founded the city of Hyele, about 540. A. C. (Herod. I. 164. et seq.) Strabo, who derives his account from Antiochus of Syracuse, names Creontiades as the leader of the Phocæans on this occasion. The same writer informs us, that from the excellence of the constitution adopted by its founders, the new colony was enabled to resist with success the aggres-

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sions both of the Posidoniatæ and the Lucani, though very inferior to these adversaries both in population and fertility of soil.

Velia is particularly celebrated in the annals of Grecian science for the school of philosophy, which was formed within its walls under the auspices of Zeno and Parmenides, and which is commonly known by the name of the Eleatic sect[s]. (Cic. Acad. II. 42. Strab. loc. cit. Diog. Laert.) Scylax leads us to infer that Velia afterwards received a colony of Thurians, an event which we may suppose to have occurred about 440 years A. C. (Scyl. Peripl. p. 4.)

When the Romans formed the design of erecting a temple to Ceres, they sought a priestess from Velia, where that goddess was held in great veneration, to instruct them in the rites and ceremonies to be observed in her worship. (Cic. pro Balb. 24. Val. Max. I. 1.) This town became subsequently a Roman maritime colony, as may be inferred from Livy; but the period at which this change in its condition took place, is not mentioned; it was probably not long after the colonization of Pæstum. Mention of Velia frequently occurs in the letters of Cicero, who occasionally resided there with his friends Trebatius and Talna. (ad Fam. VII. Ep. 20. ad Att. XVI. 7. Orat. in Verr. V.) The situation of the town seems to have been considered very healthy; as Plutarch says that Paulus Æmilius was ordered there by his physicians, and that he derived considerable benefit from the air. (Plut. vit. Æmil.) Horace was also recommended to visit Velia for a disorder in his eyes.

[s] This sect was afterwards transplanted into Greece, where it degenerated into a school of sophistry and false dialectic. See Brucker, Hist. Philos. Crit. vol. i. p. 1142.

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Quæ sit hyems Veliæ, quod cœlum, Vala, Salerni,
Quorum hominum regio, et qualis via (nam mihi Baias
Musa supervacuas Antonius — I. Epist. 15.

In Strabo's time this ancient town was greatly reduced, its inhabitants being forced, from the poorness of the soil, to betake themselves to fishing and other seafaring occupations. (Strab. loc. cit.) The ruins of Velia stand about half a mile from the sea on the site now called *Castelamare della Bruca*[t].

Portus Velinus.

The Portus Velinus was probably situated at the mouth of the *Alento*.

. . . . . portusque require Velinos.
Æn. VI. 366.

Eleates vel Veliensis Sinus.

The bay into which that river discharges itself was known as the Sinus Eleates, or Veliensis. (Appian. Civ. Bell. V. 98. Strab. VI. 252.) In this gulf, and at some distance from its shores, are two small islands,

Œnotrides insulæ.

named by the ancients Œnotrides insulæ. (Strab. VI. 253.) Pliny states, that of these one was called Ischia, the other Pontia: (III. 13.) and Cluverius assures us that they nearly retain these appellations[u].

Palinurus promontorium.

The promontory of Palinurus is still called *Capo di Palinuro*. Tradition ascribed the name to Palinurus the pilot of Æneas.

Et statuent tumulum, et tumulo solemnia mittent;
Æternumque locus Palinuri nomen habebit.
Æn. VI. 380.

[t] Holsten. Adnot. p. 286. Antonin. Lucan. p. ii. disc. 4. The coins of Velia are numerous; their inscription is generally ΥΕΛΗ. ΥΕΛΗΤΩΝ; more rarely ΦΕΛΙΑ. Sestini, Lett. Numis. t. iv. p. 31. Monet. Vet. p. 17.

[u] Ital. Antiq. II. p. 1260. Antonin. Lucan. p. ii. disc. 12.

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(Dion. Hal. I. 53. Mel. II. 4. Strab. VI. 253. Plin. III. 5.) Orosius records a disastrous shipwreck on the rock of Palinurus, sustained by a Roman fleet on its return from Africa, when 150 vessels were lost. (IV. 9.) Augustus also encountered great peril on this part of the coast, when, according to Appian, many of his ships were dashed against this headland. (Civ. Bell. V. 98.)

The river *Molpa*[x], which flows into the sea to the south-east of Cape Palinurus, is the ancient Melphes. (Plin. III. 5.) This river is probably the same which Lycophron calls Membles. Melphes fl.

Οἱ δ' αὖ Πελασγῶν ἀμφὶ Μέμβλητος ῥοὰς,
Νῆσόν τε Κερνεᾶτιν ἐκπεπλωκότες,
Ὑπὲρ πόρον Τυρσηνὸν ἐν Λαμητίαις
Δίναισιν οἰκήσουσι Λευκανῶν πλάκας. v. 1083.

It is certain that a Greek town once existed near the mouth of this stream, of which some vestiges are yet visible[y], though no classical writer has noticed it. We learn from a coin, considered as unique, that the name of this city was Palinurus Molpis, or in Latin, Palinurus ad Melphem[z]. Palinurus Molpis.

Beyond is the promontory formerly termed Pyxus Promontorium, now *Capo degl' Infreschi*[a]. The ancient city of the same name[b], which the Latins called Buxentum, is placed by the generality of to- Pyxus Promontorium. Pyxus sive Buxentum.

[x] Cluver. Ital. Antiq. II. p. 1261.

[y] Romanelli, t. i. p. 368.

[z] This coin, as described by Sestini, bears every appearance of great antiquity; the legend is ΠΑΛ. on the obverse, and on the other side, ΜΟΛ. in retrograde characters. Sestini, Monet. Vet. p. 16.

[a] Holsten. Adnot. p. 287.

[b] The true form of this name is ΠΥΧΟΕΣ. as we collect from a very ancient coin of this city in alliance with Siris. See p. 353.

pographers near *Policastro*[c]; according to Diodorus Siculus it was founded by Micythus, prince of Rhegium and Zancle, about 471 years A. C. (XI. 59.) but Strabo, who states the same fact, affirms, that these colonists did not remain long there. (VI. 253.) If Stephanus Byz. (v. Πυξοῦς) is to be credited, it was of Œnotrian origin, and must therefore have existed long before the event above mentioned. It became a Roman colony under the name of Buxentum A. U. C. 558. (Liv. XXXIV. 45. Vell. Paterc. I. 14.) This settlement however did not prosper for some years afterwards, the consuls reported that it was nearly deserted, and it was then determined to send there a fresh supply of colonists. (Liv. XXXIX. 23. Cf. Mel. II. 4. Plin. III. 5. Ptol. p. 67.)

> Ille et pugnacis laudavit tela Salerni
> Falcatos enses, et quæ Buxentia pubes
> Aptabat dextris irrasæ robora clavæ.
>
> Sil. Ital. VIII. 584.

Pyxus fl. The little river *Busento* is doubtless the Pyxus of Strabo. (loc. cit.)

Scidrus. Herodotus reports that a remnant of the Sybarites, after the destruction of their town, inhabited Scidrus and Laus on the Tyrrhenian sea; and these colonies appear to have been in a flourishing state at the time he wrote; for he observes, that when Miletus was taken by the Persians in the Ionian revolt, they did not mourn its downfall, as the Milesians had lamented the fate of Sybaris. (VI. 21.) Stephanus of Byzantium is the only author who has alluded to Scidrus

[c] Cluver. Ital. Antiq. II. p. 1261. Holsten. Adnot. p. 288. Romanelli, t. i. p. 373.

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besides Herodotus, and he cites as his authority for the existence of that place, Lycus of Rhegium, the adoptive father of Lycophron. Cluverius has omitted all mention of it; Holstenius thought it might be placed at *Cetraro*, to the east of the river *Lao*[d]; but as we know that Laus was a maritime town, it is reasonable to suppose that Scidrus was also situated near the sea, as indeed were all the Greek settlements; and that this was the case with regard to Scidrus, is in fact intimated by Herodotus. On this account, as well as for other reasons, we must prefer the opinion of the learned and judicious topographer of Lucania, who fixes it at *Sapri*, a few miles to the south-east of *Policastro*, where he has observed extensive ruins, and also vestiges of an ancient port[e].

Further south, and on the Via Aquilia, as we learn from the Itineraries, was Blanda, a town of Lucania referred to by Livy, (XXIV. 20.) as well as by Pliny (III. 5.) and Ptolemy. (p. 67.) The latter geographer classes it incorrectly among the inland towns of the province. Holstenius has fixed its position at *Maratea*[f], and he is followed by Antonini and Romanelli[g]. Blanda.

The last Lucanian city on this coast is Laus, situated on a gulf and river of the same name. It has been already observed that this was a colony of the Sybarites; (Herod. VI. 20. Strab. VI. 253.) but beyond that fact, we are very little acquainted with its history. Strabo reports that the allied Greeks met with a signal defeat in the vicinity of this place from the Lucanians. These were probably the Posi- Laus.

[d] Holsten. Adnot. p. 288.
[e] Antonin. Lucan. p. ii. disc. 11.
[f] Adnot. p. 288.
[g] Lucan. p. ii. disc. 12. Romanelli, t. i. p. 379.

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doniatæ and the other colonists on this coast, and we may conjecture that this disaster led to the downfall of their several towns [h]. In Pliny's time Laos no longer existed. (III. 5. Ptol. p. 67. Steph. Byz. v. Λᾶος.) Cluverius identified its site with the present *Laino* [i], but later topographers have justly observed, that this town is fourteen miles from the sea, whereas the Table Itinerary evidently marks the position of Lacus near the coast. It is more probable, therefore, that *Scalea* represents this ancient city [k].

Laus Sinus. Laus fl.

The Sinus Laus derives its present name from *Policastro*, and the river is called *Lao*.

It will now be necessary to retrace our steps towards the northern frontier of Lucania, for the purpose of giving some account of the towns situated in the interior of that province.

Alburnus Mons.

Near the junction of the Silarus and Tanager, and between the latter river and the Calor, is a ridge of mountains known formerly by the name of Mons Alburnus.

> Est lucos Silari circa, ilicibusque virentem
> Plurimus Alburnum volitans, cui nomen asilo
> Romanum est, œstrum Graii vertere vocantes;
> Asper, acerba sonans; quo tota exterrita sylvis
> Diffugiunt armenta, furit mugitibus æther
> Concussus, sylvæque, et sicci ripa Tanagri.
>
> GEORG. III. 146.

It is now commonly called *Monte di Postiglione*, and sometimes *Alburno*.

[h] The alliance of Laos and Posidonia is attested by a coin of the former city, with the epigraph ΑΑΙ. and ΠΟ. Others are inscribed ΑΑΙΝΟΜ. Sestini, Lett. Numis. I. 9. p. 69. and Monet. Vet. p. 16.

[i] Ital. Antiq. II. p. 1262.

[k] Antonin. Lucan. p. ii. disc. 12. Romanelli, t. i. p. 383.

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The Tanager rises in the central chain of the Apennines, between *Casal nuovo* and *Lago Negro*, and, after flowing thirty miles through the valley of *Diano*, loses itself underground for the space of two miles, and not twenty, as is stated in Pliny. (II. 103.) It reappears beyond *la Polla*, at a place called *Pertosa*, and falls into the Silarus below *Contursi*[l]. The modern name of this river is *Negro*. Tanager fl.

To the north of the Tanager, Vulceium, or Volcentum, is now *Buccino*, as several inscriptions discovered there abundantly testify[m]. The Volcentes are stated by Livy to have sided in the first instance with Hannibal, but afterwards to have again submitted to the Romans, to whom they delivered up the Carthaginian garrison. It is probable that in the passage alluded to, we ought to read, instead of "Lucani "et Volscentes," Lucani Volcentes. (XXVII. 15. Cf. Plin. III. 11. Ptol. p. 67. Front. de Col.) Numistro, another Lucanian town, mention of which we find in Livy, seems to have been situated still more to the north, and near the frontiers of Apulia. That historian speaks of an engagement which took place in its vicinity between Marcellus and Hannibal. (XXVII. 1. Cf. Plut. vit. Marcell. Plin. III. 12.) Ptolemy (p. 67.) incorrectly ascribes it to the Brutii. Romanelli, with great appearance of probability, fixes this ancient site in the neighbourhood of *Muro*, where several Roman monuments and inscriptions have been discovered[n]. Vulceium sive Volcentum. Numistro.

Considerably to the east of Numistro, and near the source of the Casuentus, *Potenza* recalls the ancient Potentia, a considerable city of Lucania, as may Potentia.

[l] Romanelli, t. i. p. 326.
[m] Holsten. Adnot. p. 290.
Romanelli, t. i. p. 422.
[n] Romanelli, t. i. p. 434.

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be collected from the ruins which are yet standing, together with various inscriptions collected by Muratori, Antonini, and others [o]. It is also noticed by Pliny (III. 12.) and Frontinus. (de Col.)

Campi Veteres.

The spot which witnessed the death of Tib. Gracchus by the hands of a treacherous band of Lucanians, and which is called Campi Veteres by Livy, may be placed near *Potenza*, at *Vietri*, which seems to be a corruption of its ancient name [p]. (Liv. XXV. 16. Appian. Han. 35.)

Atina.

Not far from the Tanager, *Atena* represents the Atina of the Lucani. (Plin. III. 12. Front. de Col.) Several inscriptions, and many remains of walls and buildings, prove that it was no inconsiderable town [q].

Marciliana.

About five miles further to the south stood Marciliana, noticed by the Itineraries and also by Cassiodorus, who informs us that this place was a suburb to the more ancient and important town of Cosilynum, and that in his time a great concourse of people used to assemble here annually on the day of S. Cyprian. This custom, he affirms, was of very early date, being in fact a remnant of a pagan superstition called Leucothea. (Cassiod. Var. Ep. VIII. 33.) This ancient site is proved very satisfactorily by Romanelli to answer to *la Sala*, on the right bank of the *Negro* [r].

Cosilynum.

Cosylinum, according to the same antiquary, could not have been far from *Padula*, which is situated in the mountains above the valley of the Tanager [s].

[o] Murator. Thesaur. Inscript. Class. XV. Antonin. Lucan. p. ii. disc. 2. Romanelli, t. i. p. 435.

[p] Romanelli, t. i. p. 438.

[q] Antonin. Lucan. p. ii. disc. 2. Romanelli, t. i. p. 423.

[r] Ibid. t. i. p. 409.

[s] Holsten. Geogr. S. Paul. Antonin. Lucan. p. iii. disc. 8. Romanelli, t. i. p. 406.

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Besides Cassiodorus, we have the authority of Frontinus for the existence of this city, as he classes it among the præfecturæ of Lucania [t]. (de Colon.)

On the left bank of the Tanager, *Diano*, which communicates its name to the beautiful valley watered by that river, was probably the ancient city of Tegianum, as numerous inscriptions discovered there attest [u]. Frontinus probably refers to it when he speaks of the præfectura Tegianensis. (de Col.) Tegianum.

Further south, and among the mountains, *Sanzo* occupies the site of Sontia, the inhabitants of which are called Sontini by Pliny [x]. (III. 11.) Sontia.

Considerably to the east, and near the source of the Aciris, *Marsico vetere* is thought by Cluverius [y] and D'Anville [z] to accord with the situation of Abellinum Marsicum. (Plin. III. 11.) Abellinum Marsicum.

Further south, and on the right bank of the same river, we must place Grumentum, a town of some note mentioned by Livy in reference to the second Punic war, (XXVII. 41.) and by Appian during the Social war. (Civ. Bell. I. 41.) Frontinus reports that it Grumentum.

[t] Sestini has published two medals which he attributes to this city. They have on the reverse, within a wreath, the epigraph KOCIATN. Sestini, Lett. Numis. t. vi. p. 8. and Monet. Vet. p. 16.

[u] Romanelli, t. i. p. 415.

[x] It is to this city that Lanzi refers the ancient Greek inscription, known to the Italian antiquaries by the name of *lamina Borgiana*, from its being preserved in the *Museo Borgia* at *Velletri*. It was discovered at *Strongoli* in *Calabria* in 1783. According to Lanzi, it records a grant of a dwelling house and the rights appertaining to it, from the Demiurgus and other magistrates of the town of Sontia, (ΣΑΟΤΙΣ, Doric for ΣΩΝΤΙΣ,) to a person named Sicenia. If Lanzi's interpretation is correct, Sontia must have been at that period in the possession of some Greek colony, possibly of the Sybarites, who, according to Strabo, held several towns in Lucania. Lanzi, t. i. p. 108.

[y] Ital. Antiq. II. p. 1280.

[z] Geogr. Anc. p. 57.

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was colonized by Augustus. (de Col. Ptol. p. 67.) This city, according to the best informed topographers, is to be placed near *Saponara*, at the junction of the *Agri* and *Sciauro*, where extensive ruins of walls, amphitheatres, aqueducts, and other buildings, are visible [a].

Nerulum. Near the southern frontier of Lucania we find Nerulum, remarked by Livy as one of the first towns of that province conquered by the Romans. (IX. 20.) It appears from the Itineraries to have been situated near *la Rotonda* [b].

Thebæ Lucanæ. The city of Thebæ had disappeared long before the time of Pliny, but its former existence is attested by Cato, (Plin. III. 11.) According to the conjecture of Antonini, it stood at *Castellucio*, near the source of the *Lao* [c].

Muranum. Muranum, named by the Itineraries, and by the inscription of *la Polla* [d], is evidently *Murano*.

Ursentum. Ursentum (Plin. III. 11.) is placed by Cluverius, with great probability, at *Orso Marso* [e], near the source of the *Lao*.

ROMAN WAYS.

The principal road to be noticed in Lucania was the Via Aquilia, which has been already partly described, from Capua to the banks of the Silarus, in the section relating to Campania. Its progress through this province is thus traced in the Antonine Itinerary.

[a] Holsten. Adnot. p. 288. Romanelli, t. i. p. 390.

[b] Holsten. Adnot. p. 289. Romanelli, t. i. p. 390.

[c] Lucan. p. ii. disc. 12.

[d] See p. 219.

[e] Ital. Antiq. II. p. 1317. Sestini ascribes to this city a medal with the legend OPΣANTINΩN. Monet. Vet. p. 17.

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Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
ad Tanagrum fl.[f]	*Sele*	
ad Calorem[g]	*Calore*	XXIV.
Marcellianam	*la Sala*	XXV.
Cæsarianam	*Casal nuovo*[h]	XIV.[i]
Nerulum	*la Rotonda*	XXVIII.[k]
Sub Muranum	*Castro villari*[l]	XIV.

The same road is thus detailed in the Table.

Silaro fl.	*Sele*	
Marcilianam	*la Sala*	XXV.[m]
Vicum Mendicolcum	*Lago negro*[n]	XXVIII.[o]
Nerulum	*la Rotonda*	XXVI.
Interamnium	*Firmo*[p]	XXXV.[q]

We find also in the same guide a cross road communicating with the Via Appia and the Via Aquilia. Its stations from Silvium, in Apulia, are arranged in the following order:

Silvio	*Garagnone*	
Pisandes[r]	*Vanze*	VI.
Lucos[s]		XXIV.

[f] Read Silarum.

[g] Holstenius thinks this station should be expunged, as it is not easy to comprehend how the road should take the direction of the Calor, after crossing the Silarus. (Adnot. p. 284.) Romanelli, however, supposes that it first crossed the latter river near its mouth, and afterwards the Calor and Tanager. (t. i. p. 327.) In that case there must be a considerable error in the number affixed to this station, as the distance from the mouth of the Silaris to the Calor is not more than ten miles.

[h] Holsten. Adnot. p. 293.

[i] Instead of XXI.

[k] The Itin. marks XXXVIII.

[l] Holsten. Adnot. ad Ortel. Romanelli, t. i. p. 389.

[m] This number is supplied from the Antonine Itinerary.

[n] Holsten. Adnot. p. 291.

[o] The distance is wanting in the Table.

[p] Romanelli, t. i. p. 119.

[q] Instead of XXVIII.

[r] This should probably be corrected to Bantiam, and the distance marked VI. instead of XVI.

[s] This station remains unexplored, unless the Luci here spoken of are the Saltus Bantini of Horace.

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Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Potentiam	*Potenza* - -	XII.
Montem Balabo	*Pietrafesa*[t]	
Forum Popilii[u]	- - - - -	V.
Acerroniam	*Brienza*[x] - -	VIIII.
Marcillianam	*la Sala* - -	VIIII.
Cæsarianam	*Casal nuovo* - -	XIV.
Vicum Mendicolco	*Lago negro* - -	XIV.
Blandam	*Maratea* - -	VIII.
Laum	*Scalea* - - -	XV.

Another road led from Potentia to the Via Aquilia, in a more southerly direction; the stations in the Table being,

Potentia	*Potenza*	
Anxiam	*Anzi*[y] - - -	XV.
Grumentum	*Saponara* - -	XVIII.
Nerulum	*la Rotonda* - -	XXVII.

A route is marked in the Itinerary of Antoninus as leading from Venusia on the Appian way, in the same direction as the preceding; but the distances are strangely incorrect, with the exception of the first[z].

Venusia	*Venosa*	
Opinum	*Oppido* - - -	XV.
ad fl. Bradanum	*Bradano* - -	IX.[a]
Potentiam	*Potenza* - -	XIV.[b]
ad Acirim fl.[c]	*Agri* - - -	XIV.[d]
Grumentum	*Saponara* - -	VIII.[e]

[t] Holsten. Adnot. p. 291.

[u] Romanelli fixes this site between *Marsico Nuovo* and *Calvello*, t. i. p. 427.

[x] Holsten. Adnot. p. 291.

[y] Antonin. Lucan. p. iii. disc. 4.

[z] I have given the distances according to Romanelli's corrections.

[a] The Itinerary marks XXIX.

[b] Instead of XXIV.

[c] Aciris is Cluverius's correction for Acidies.

[d] Here also the Itinerary reads XXIV.

[e] Instead of XXVIII.

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Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
ad Semnum fl.[f]	*Sinno* - - -	XVII.[g]
Nerulum	*la Rotonda* - -	X.[h]

In the same Itinerary we find a route leading from Venusia to Thurii, but here the numbers are also very corrupt[i].

Venusia	*Venosa*	
ad Pinum	*Spinazzola*[k] - -	XII.[l]
Opinum	*Oppido* - -	XII.[m]
Cœlianum	*Cirigliano*[n] - -	XXXII.[o]
Heracleam	*Policoro* - -	XXV.[p]
ad Vicesimum	*Roseto* - - -	XIV.[q]
Thurios	- - - - -	XX.

Another Roman way followed the coast from Tarentum to Thurii; the stations being thus disposed in the Tabula Theodosiana.

Tarento	*Taranto*	
ad Bradanum fl.[r]	*Bradano* - -	XXV.[s]
Heracleam	*Policoro* - -	XX.
Semnum fl.	*Sinno* - - -	IV.
Thurios	- - - - -	XXX.[t]

[f] In the original it is Semuncla. This is also a correction of Cluverius. Ital. Antiq. II. p. 1280.
[g] The Itinerary gives XXVII.
[h] In the original we find XVI.
[i] Cluver. Ital. Antiq. II. p. 1280. Romanelli, t. i. p. 429.
[k] Romanelli, t. i. loc. cit.
[l] Instead of XXII.
[m] For XXXII.
[n] Cluv. Ital. Ant. II. p. 1280. Antonin. Lucan. p. iii. disc. 3.
[o] The Itinerary gives XL.
[p] Instead of XXVIII.
[q] In the Itinerary we find XXIV.
[r] The Table reads Turios fl.
[s] This number is wanting.
[t] This number is also supplied from the Antonine Itinerary.

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SECTION XIV.

BRUTII.

Origin and history of the Brutii—The remaining Greek colonies on the coast—Interior of the country—Roman ways.

THE origin which ancient historians have ascribed to the Brutii, or Βρέττιοι, as they were called by the Greeks, is neither remote nor illustrious: they were generally looked upon as descended from some refugee slaves and shepherds of the Lucanians, who, having concealed themselves from pursuit in the forests and mountains with which this part of Italy abounds, became in process of time powerful from their numbers and ferocity. This savage race is represented as pouring forth to attack their Lucanian ancestors, and to molest the Grecian settlers on the coasts of either sea; and so formidable had they at length rendered themselves, that the Lucani were compelled to acknowledge their independence, and to cede to them all the country south of the rivers Laus and Crathis. This advancement of the Brutii to the rank of an independent nation is supposed by Diodorus Siculus to have taken place about 397 years after the foundation of Rome. Dion, the Syracusan, was at this time prosecuting his undertaking against the younger Dionysius; and it is conceived that the hostilities of the Brutii were fomented by his means in order to prevent the tyrant from

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deriving any aid from his Lucanian allies. (Diod. Sic. XVI. 15. Strab. VI. 255. Just. XXIII.)

The enterprising and turbulent spirit of this people was next directed against the Greek colonies; and in proportion as these were rapidly declining, from jealousies and internal dissensions, and still more from luxury and indolence, their antagonists were acquiring a degree of vigour and stability which soon enabled them to accomplish their downfall. The Greek towns on the western coast, from being weaker and more detached from the main body of the Italiot confederacy, first fell into the hands of the Brutii. The principal cities of which this league was composed now became alarmed for their own security, and sought the aid of the Molossian Alexander against these dangerous enemies, with whom the Lucanians also had learnt to make common cause. This gallant prince, by his talents and valour, for a time checked the progress of these active barbarians, and even succeeded in penetrating into the heart of their country; but after his death, which occurred before the fatal walls of Pandosia, (Liv. VIII. 24.) they again advanced, like a resistless torrent, and soon reduced the whole of the peninsula between the Laus and Crathis, with the exception of Crotona, Locri, and Rhegium. At this period, Rome, the universal foe of all, put an end at once to their conquests and their independence. After sustaining several defeats, both the Lucani and Brutii are said to have finally submitted to L. Papirius Cursor, A. U. C. 480, which was two years after Pyrrhus had withdrawn his troops from Italy. (Liv. Epit. XIV. Zonar. Ann. Polyb. I. 6.)

The arrival of Hannibal once more, however,

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roused the Brutii to exertion; they flocked eagerly to the victorious standard of that general, who was by their aid enabled to maintain his ground in this corner of Italy, when all hope of final success seemed to be extinguished. But the consequences of this protracted warfare proved fatal to the country in which it was carried on; many of the Brutian towns being totally destroyed, and others so much impoverished as to retain scarcely a vestige of their former prosperity. To these misfortunes was added the weight of Roman vengeance; for that power, when freed from her formidable enemy, too well remembered the support he had derived from the Brutii for so many years, to allow their defection to pass unheeded. A decree was therefore passed, reducing this people to a most abject state of dependence: they were pronounced incapable of being employed in a military capacity, and their services were confined to the menial offices of couriers and letter-carriers. (Strab. V. 251. and VI. 253.)

According to the method hitherto followed, I shall first detail the maritime topography of this province, beginning from the mouth of the Crathis.

Ager Camere.

Close to this river was a district alluded to by Ovid under the name of Camere.

> Est prope piscosos lapidosi Crathidis amnes
> Purus ager; Cameren incola turba vocat.
>
> Fast. III. 581.

Lusias fl.

Beyond is a small river called *Lucido*[u], which probably answers to the Lusias spoken of by Ælian. (Hist. Anim. X. 38.) It may be inferred from Athenæus, that the Sybarites held this limpid stream in

[u] Quattromani, Not. in Barr. de Antiq. et Sit. Calabr. l. v. c. 4. Romanelli, t. i. p. 229.

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great estimation for the use of their baths. (Athen. XII. 3.)

At the mouth of another stream was the haven of the Thurians, as Procopius affirms, and which he names Roscia. He adds, that higher up the Romans had constructed a fortress, which the Itinerary of Antoninus calls Roscianum, now *Rossano*. Two passes led from thence to the Lucanian and Brutian mountains; the one termed Petra Sanguinis, the other Lambula. (Procop. Rer. Goth. III.) According to Holstenius, these are the defiles of *Morano* and *Roseto*[x]. Portus Roscia. Roscianum. Petra Sanguinis. Lambula.

The river Hylias, which formed, as may be collected from Thucydides, the line of separation between the territories of Thurii and Crotona, answers, according to Romanelli, to a rivulet named *Calonato*[y]. The Greek historian informs us, that the Athenian troops which were sent to reinforce their army in Sicily, having landed at Thurii, marched along the coast till they arrived on the banks of the Hylias, where they were met by a deputation sent from Crotona to interdict their progress through the territory of that city. (VII. 35.) Hylias fl.

The *Trionto*, which follows, is naturally looked upon as the ancient Traens, rendered memorable by the bloody defeat of the Sybarites on its banks, as Jamblichus reports. (Vit. Pythag. 35.) Some years after, a remnant of this unfortunate people were again attacked on this spot, and destroyed by the Brutii. (Diod. Sic. XII. 22.) Traens fl.

The little river *Fiumenica* is supposed to answer to the Crimisa[z], and the *Capo dell' Alice* to the Crimisa fl.

[x] Adnot. p. 306.
[y] Romanelli, t. i. p. 221.
[z] Cluver. Ital. Antiq. II. p. 1313.

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Promontorium et Oppidum.

promontory of the same name[a]. The city of Crimisa was said to have been founded by Philoctetes after the siege of Troy, as Strabo affirms on the authority of Apollodorus, who wrote a history of the Grecian fleet[b]. (Strab. VI. 254. Steph. Byz. v. Κρίμισα.) The same tradition is also alluded to by Lycophron.

> Τὸν δ' Αἰσάρου τε ῥεῖθρα, καὶ βραχύπτολις
> Οἰνατρίας γῆς κεγχρίνῃ βεβρωμένον
> Κρίμισσα φιτροῦ δέξεται μιαιφόνον.
>
> LYCOPHR. v. 911.

A temple, consecrated to Apollo Alæus, by Philoctetes, stood likewise on the shore, together with that hero's tomb. (Aristot. de Mirab.)

> Κρᾶθις δὲ τύμβους ὄψεται δεδουπότος,
> Εὐρὺξ Ἀλαίου Παταρέως ἀνακτόρων.
> Ναύαιθος ἔνθα πρὸς κλύδων' ἐρεύγεται.
>
> LYCOPHR. v. 919.

At a much later period, Crimisa is supposed to have changed its name to Paternum, under which it is noticed in the Itinerary of Antoninus, and by which it was known as a bishop's see after the fall of the western empire. The modern *Cirò* seems to retain something of its original appellation[c].

At some distance from the coast, we may notice several small towns of which mention is made only by Strabo. (VI. 254.) Calasarna is supposed, by the Calabrian topographers, to accord with the site of *Campana*, near the source of the *Fiumenica*[d].

Calasarna.

[a] Barr. de Antiq. et Sit. Calabr. l. iv. c. 23.

[b] Heyn. Apollod. Athen. Bibl.

[c] Barr. de Antiq. et Sit. Calab. l. iv. c. 23. Holsten. Adnot. p. 307. Romanelli, t. i. p. 213.

[d] Barr. l. iv. c. 24. Cf. Acet. not. 2. Quattrom. ad loc. cit. not. 6. Girol. Maraf. l. iii. c. 18.

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Vertinæ preserves in great measure its ancient name in that of *Verzine*[e], on the *Nieto*. Vertinæ.

Chone, said to have been also a colony of Philoctetes, belonged originally to the Chones, an early tribe of Œnotrian descent, who are represented as more civilized than the other barbarians of Italy. (Strab. VI. 255.) According to some judicious antiquaries, this ancient site corresponds with that of *Casabuona*[f], near *Strongoli*. Chone.

Pumentum is another obscure town placed in this vicinity by Strabo, which, according to Barrio, occupied the situation of *Cerenza*, on the right bank of the *Nieto*[g]. Pumentum.

Brystacia, mentioned by Stephanus as a town of the Œnotri, (v. Βρυστακία.) stood, according to the generality of modern geographers, at *Umbriatico*[h], about six miles to the west of *Cirò*. Brystacia.

Tempsa, termed Montana to distinguish it from a more celebrated town of the same name on the western sea, is not mentioned by any writer of antiquity; but its existence is attested by the Tabula Theodosiana, and by various acts of councils, which speak of the bishoprics of Tempsa and of Paternum as being united: it is therefore probable that these two places were situated near each other[i]. Tempsa Montana.

Petilia was another settlement of Philoctetes, Petilia.

> . . . . . hic illa ducis Melibœi
> Parva Philoctetæ subnixa Petilia muro.
>
> ÆN. III. 401.

[e] Barr. l. iv. c. 18. Maraf. l. iii. c. 18.

[f] Quattromani, in Barr. l. iv. c. 22. Romanelli, t. i. p. 215.

[g] Barr. loc. cit. Maraf. l. iii. c. 18.

[h] Barr. de Antiq. et Sit. Calabr. l. iv. c. 23. Quattrom. et Acet. not. in Barr. loc. cit. Cluver. Ital. Antiq. II. p. 1316.

[i] Acet. not. in Barr. l. iv. c. 23. Romanelli, t. i. p. 213.

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which in the opinion of the most judicious and best formed topographers, occupied the situation of the modern *Strongoli*[k]. This small town, of whose earlier history we have no particulars, gave a striking proof of its fidelity to the Romans in the second Punic war, when it refused to follow the example of the other Brutian cities in joining the Carthaginians. In consequence of this resolution it was besieged by Hannibal, and though unassisted by the Romans, it held out until reduced to the last extremity by famine; nor was it till all the leather in the town, as well as the bark and young shoots of trees, and the grass in the streets had been consumed for subsistence, that they at length surrendered. "Itaque Hannibali," says Val. Maximus, "non Petiliam, sed fidei Petilinæ sepulchrum capere contigit." (VI. 6. Polyb. ap. Athen. XII. 6. Liv. XXIII. 30.) Petilia is also noticed by Mela. (II. 4. Plin. III. 10.) Ptolemy incorrectly classes it with the inland towns of Magna Græcia. (p. 67.) It may be here again observed, that Strabo has confounded this town with the Lucanian Petilia[l].

Macalla. In this vicinity, according to Aristotle (de Mirab.) and Lycophron, was an ancient city named Macalla, the inhabitants of which were said to pay divine honours to Philoctetes. (Cf. Steph. Byz. v. Μάκελλα et Holst. not. ad loc.)

> Ἐν δ' αὖ Μακάλλοις σηκὸν ἔγχωροι μέγαν
> Ὑπὲρ τάφων δείμαντες, αἰανῆ θεὸν
> Λοιβαῖσι κυδανοῦσι, καὶ θύσθλοις βοῶν.
>
> LYCOPHR. V. 927.

[k] Quattromi. in Barr. l. iv. c. 22. Holsten. Adnot. p. 307. Romanelli, t. i. p. 206.

[l] See p. 367. The coins attributed to Petilia have the epigraph ΠΕΤΗΑΙΝΩΝ.

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According to Aristotle it was 120 stadia from Crotona, a distance which forbids our identifying this site with that of Petilia, as Romanelli has done [m].

The river Neæthus, now *Nieto*, was said to derive its name from the circumstance of the captive Trojan women having there set fire to the Grecian fleet, a circumstance alluded to by many of the ancients, but with great diversity of opinion as to the scene of the event. The use which Virgil has made of this tradition is well known. (Strab. VI. 262.) Neæthus.

To the south of this river rises a part of the Apennines anciently called Mons Clibanus, now *Monte Visardo* [n]. (Plin. III. 10.) On its declivity was situated Siberena, a city of the Œnotri, according to Stephanus Byz. (v. Σιβερήνη.) Pliny is supposed to allude to its wines under the name of Severiana, (XIV. 16.) as the place is now called *S. Severina* [o]. The Mons Physcus, spoken of by Theocritus in conjunction with the Neæthus, seems to have been part of the above-mentioned chain. Clibanus Mons. Siberena. Physcus Mons.

Καὶ μὰν ἐς στομάλιμνον ἐλαύνεται, ἔς τε τὰ Φύσκω,
Καὶ ποτὲ τὸν Νήαιθον· ὅπᾳ καλὰ πάντα φύοντι,
Αἰγίπυρος καὶ κνύζα, καὶ εὐώδης μελίτεια.

IDYLL. IV. 23.

Croto, now *Cotrone*, on the little river Æsarus, was one of the most celebrated and powerful states of Magna Græcia. Its foundation is ascribed to Myscellus, an Achæan leader, soon after Sybaris had been colonized by a party of the same nation, which was about 715 years A. C. (Antioch. Syrac. ap. Croto.

[m] Topogr. Ant. t. i. p. 208.
[n] Barr. l. iv. c. 4. Cf. Acet. et Quattrom. not. in loc.
[o] Barr. loc. cit. Holsten. not. ad Steph. Byz.

Strab. VI. 262.) According to some traditions, however, the origin of Crotona was much more ancient, and it was said to derive its name from the hero Croton [P].

> Vixque pererratis quæ spectant littora terris,
> Invenit Æsarei fatalia fluminis ora:
> Nec procul hinc tumulum, sub quo sacrata Crotonis
> Ossa tegebat humus. Jussaque ibi mœnia terra
> Condidit; et nomen tumulati traxit in urbem.
>
> Ovid. Metam. XV. 53.

(Cf. Heracl. Pont. Frag. p. 20. Diod. Sic. IV. 24. Ephor. ap. Strab. loc. cit.) The residence of Pythagoras and his most distinguished followers in this city, together with the overthrow of Sybaris which it accomplished, the exploits of Milo and several other Crotoniat victors in the Olympic games, contributed in a high degree to raise its fame. Its climate also was proverbially excellent, and supposed to be particularly calculated for producing, in its inhabitants, that robust frame of body requisite to ensure success in those contests. Hence it was commonly said, that the last wrestler of Crotona was the first of the other Greeks. (Strab. VI. 262.) This town was also celebrated for its school of medicine, and was the birthplace of Democedes, who long enjoyed the reputation of being the first physician in Greece. (Herod. III. 131.) However brilliant an epoch in the history of Crotona its triumph over Sybaris may appear, that event must be regarded also as the term of her greatness and prospe-

[P] Some of the medals of Crotona are supposed to have a reference to this original founder. The more ancient coins are hollow on one side, and the legend KPO. KPOT. KPOTON, appears in very rude retrograde letters. Sestini, Monet. Vet. p. 17.

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rity; for from this period it is said that luxury and the love of pleasure, the usual consequences of great opulence, soon obliterated all the good effects which had been produced by the wisdom and morality of Pythagoras, and conspired to enervate that hardihood and vigour for which the Crotoniatæ had hitherto been so peculiarly distinguished. (Polyb. Frag. VII. 1. and X. 1. Tim. ap. Athen. XII. 4.) As a proof of the remarkable change which took place in the warlike spirit of this people, it is said that on their being subsequently engaged in hostilities with the Locrians, an army of 130,000 Crotoniatæ were routed by 10,000 of the enemy, on the banks of the Sagras. Such was indeed the loss they experienced in this battle, that, according to Strabo, their city henceforth rapidly declined, and could no longer maintain the rank it had long held among the Italiot republics[q]. (Strab. VI. 261.) Dionysius the elder, who was then aiming at the subversion of all the states of Magna Græcia, having surprised the citadel, gained possession of the town, which however he did not long retain. (Liv. XXIV. 3.) Crotona was finally enabled to assert its independence against his designs, as well as the attacks of the Brutii; and when Pyrrhus invaded Italy, it was still a considerable city extending on both banks of the Æsarus, and its walls embracing a circumference of twelve miles. But the consequences of the war which ensued with that

[q] I am aware that, according to Justin, (XX. 2.) a much earlier date ought to be assigned to this event; but the accounts which Strabo has followed evidently regarded it as subsequent to the fall of Sybaris, and probability rather favours such an arrangement in the order of events. The reader, however, may consult Heyne, de Civit. Græc. prolus. 10. Op. Acad. t. ii. p. 184.

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king proved so ruinous to its prosperity, that above one half of its extent became deserted; the Æsarus, which flowed through the town, now ran at some distance from the inhabited part, which was again separated from the fortress by a vacant space. Such is the picture which Livy draws of the state of this city after the battle of Cannæ, at which period almost all the Greek colonies abandoned the Roman cause. Crotona was then occupied by the Brutii, with the exception of the citadel in which the chief inhabitants had taken refuge; these being unable to defend the place against a Carthaginian force, soon after surrendered, and were allowed to withdraw to Locri. (Liv. XXIV, 2. and 3.)

Æsarus fl. The mouth of the river Æsarus, now *Esaro*, formed a haven, which, however incommodious compared with those of Tarentum and Brundusium, was long a source of great wealth to this town, as we are assured by Polybius. (Frag. X. 1.) That stream is also entitled to our notice, from the circumstance of its banks being made the scene of some of the prettiest bucolics in Theocritus.

> Οὐ δᾶν· ἀλλ' ὅκα μέν μιν ἐπ' Αἰσάροιο νομεύω
> Καὶ μαλακῶ χόρτοιο καλὰν κώμυθα δίδωμι.
> Ἄλλοκα δὲ σκαίρει τὸ βαθύσκιον ἀμφὶ Λάτυμνιον.
>
> IDYLL. IV. 17.

Latymnius Mons. The Latymnius was probably a mountain near the source of the Æsarus.

Templum Junonis Laciniæ. About six miles from Crotona, on the elevated promontory of Lacinium, was situated the temple of Juno, which derived its name from the spot on which it stood. This edifice is described as scarcely inferior in celebrity to the above mentioned city,

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from its great antiquity, the magnificence of its decorations, and the veneration with which it was regarded. It was surrounded by a thick grove of aged trees, in the midst of which were spacious meadows; here numerous herds and flocks were pastured in perfect security, as they were accounted sacred. From the profits accruing out of the sale of this cattle, which was destined for sacrifices, it is said, that a column of solid gold was erected and consecrated to the goddess. (Liv. XXIV. 3. Cic. de Div. I. 24.)

On the festival of Juno, which was celebrated annually, an immense concourse of the inhabitants of all the Italian Greek cities assembled here, and a grand display of the most rare and precious productions of art and nature was exhibited. On one of these occasions Alcisthenes, a Sybarite, is said to have produced a purple robe exquisitely embroidered, and adorned with feathers of every colour, on which was represented the city of Sybaris and the twelve principal deities. This costly dress having come into the possession of the elder Dionysius, was sold by him to some Carthaginian merchants for the enormous sum of 120 talents. (Aristot. de Mirab. Cf. Athen. XII. 10.)

Among other splendid pictures with which this temple was adorned, the famous Helen of Zeuxis was more particularly admired. The artist was said to have conceived his idea of that celebrated beauty, from a selection of the fairest forms which Crotona could present to his view. (Cic. de Inv. II. 2.)

History has not acquainted us with the founders of this consecrated pile, but its great antiquity is attested by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who affirms,

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that Æneas on his arrival there presented to the goddess a brazen vase. (Dion. Hal. I. 52.)

> Hinc sinus Herculei, si vera est fama, Tarenti
> Cernitur. Attollit se Diva Lacinia contra —
> ÆN. III. 551.

According to Diodorus Siculus, some ascribed its origin to Hercules. (IV. 24.)

This sanctuary was respected by Pyrrhus, as well as by Hannibal; the latter caused an inscription in Greek and Punic characters to be deposited there, recording the number of his troops, and their several victories and achievements. (Polyb. III. 33. and 56.) But several years afterwards it sustained great injury from Fulvius Flaccus, a censor, who caused a great portion of the roof, which was covered with marble, to be removed for the purpose of adorning a temple of Fortune constructed by him at Rome. Such an outcry was raised against this act of impiety, that orders were issued by the senate that every thing should be restored to its former state; but this could not be effected, no architect being found of skill sufficient to replace the marble tiles according to their original position. (Liv. XLII. 3. Val. Max. I. 1.)

From the ruins of this celebrated edifice, it is evident that it was of the early Doric style, with fluted pillars broader at the base than at the capital. It measured about 132 yards in length, and 66 in breadth; and as it faced the east, its principal entrance opened to the west[r]. The promontory of

[r] Swinburne's Travels, t. i. s. 42. p. 32. Voyage de Riedesel dans la Grande Grece, p. 151. It is to be regretted that no excavations have been hitherto made on this spot, as it is probable they would be attended with satisfactory results.

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Lacinium derives its modern names of *Capo delle Colonne*, and *Capo Nao*, from the remains of this temple, which are still visible on its summit[s]. This bold headland runs out for some distance into the sea, and with the opposite Iapygian promontory encloses the gulf of Tarentum. (Strab. VI. 261. Scyl. Peripl. p. 4. Mel. II. 4.) Lacinium Promontorium.

> Extenditque suas in templa Lacinia rupes.
> LUCAN. II. 434.

> Αἰνέω τάν τε Κρότωνα· καλὰ πόλις ἄτε Ζάκυνθος,
> Καὶ τὸ ποταῶον τὸ Λακίνιον —
> THEOCR. IDYLL. IV. 32.

To the south are three other capes, now called *Capo delle Castella*, *Capo Rizzuto*, and *Capo della Nave*[t], but anciently designated by the name of Iapygum tria Promontoria. Close to these points were formerly two rocks, or islets, each distinguished by a specific appellation, but they have now entirely disappeared. The nearest was reported to be Ogygia, the island of Calypso, where Ulysses was so long detained an unwilling prisoner. (Scyl. Peripl. p. 5. Plin. III. 10.) Another, more distant, was called the island of the Dioscori. (Plin. eod. loc.) Iapygum tria Promontoria. Ogygia Calypsus insula. Dioscorum insula.

Several rivers next follow, which, according to Pliny, were all navigable: the Targines, marked in the Itinerary under the name of Tacina, by which it is also defined in modern maps; the Arocha, identified by Cluverius with the *Alaca*[u], but by Barrio and Holstenius with the *Crocha*, or *Crocchio*[x]; the Targines fl. Arocha fl.

[s] Romanelli, t. i. p. 195.
[t] Barr. l. iv. c. 5. Acet. et Quattrom. not. ad eund. Cluv. Ital. Antiq. II. p. 1306.
[u] Ital. Antiq. II. p. 1306.
[x] Barr. l. ii. c. 2. Holsten. Adnot. p. 305.

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Semirus fl. Crotalus fl. Semirus, now *Simmari*[y]; and the Crotalus, now *Corace*[z]. (Plin. III. 10.) It is probable that a

Crotalla. town named Crotalla by Stephanus Byz. and classed by him among the cities of Italy, on the authority of Hecatæus, stood on the banks of this latter stream; perhaps at *Roccella*, where it is said that many remains of antiquity have been observed[a]. Near this city we may also place the station marked in the

Castra Hannibalis. Table under the name of Castra Hannibalis, and noticed by Pliny as the narrowest part of the isthmus which terminates Italy[b]. (III. 10.)

Amphissium. Amphissium, of which Ovid speaks in describing the navigation of the Epidaurian serpent, may perhaps have been situated somewhat beyond this station.

> Linquit Iapygiam, lævisque Amphissia remis
> Saxa fugit —
>
> METAM. XV. 703.

Scylletium sive Scyllacium. *Squillace* now represents Scylletium, or Scyllacium, once a Greek city of some note, that communicated its name to the neighbouring gulf. We are informed by Strabo, that it was colonized by the Athenians under Mnestheus, but he neither mentions the time nor the circumstances which led to its establishment[c]. (Strab. VI. 261.) Servius, however, observes, that these Athenians were returning from Africa. (ad Æn. III. 552.) At a later period it received a Roman colony. (Vell. Paterc. I. 15.)

[y] Holsten. loc. cit.
[z] Cluver. Ital. Antiq. II. p. 1306. Romanelli, t. i. p. 186.
[a] Romanelli, t. i. p. 187.
[b] Holsten. Adnot. p. 304.
[c] The Athenian origin of this place seems confirmed by a curious Greek inscription discovered here in 1791, relative to the Λαμπαδηδρομία. Vargas Spiegaz. di un marmo Greco trovato a Squillaci. Nap. 1791.

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. . . . . attollit se diva Lacinia contra
Caulonisque arces et navifragum Scylaceum.
. . . . . præterque Lacinia templo
Nobilitata Deæ, Scylaceaque litora fertur.
OVID. METAM. XV. 701.

(Cf. Plin. III. 10. Mel. II. 4. Ptol. p. 62. Steph. Byz. v. Σκυλλήτιον.) Scyllacium was the birthplace of Cassiodorus.

The Scylleticus Sinus is spoken of by Antiochus Syrac. (ap. Strab. VI. 254.) and Aristotle. (Polit. VII. 10.) The isthmus which separated it from the Sinus Hipponiates on the other sea, was not more than twenty miles broad, and this circumstance suggested to the elder Dionysius the project of carrying a fortification across it, which would have been the means of cutting off the more southern Greeks from communicating with their allies to the north of this narrow peninsula, but he was prevented by the latter from executing this design. (Strab. VI. 261. Plin. III. 15.) Scylleticus Sinus.

South of *Squillaci*, the river *Ancinale* represents the Cæcinus of Pliny [d]; (III. 10.) and on its left bank, at some distance from the coast, *Argusto* seems to answer to Aprustum, or Abystrum, classed by Pliny (III. 10.) and Ptolemy (p. 67.) among the inland towns of the Brutii [e]. Cæcinus fl. Aprustum.

On the right bank of the same river, and near its mouth, *Satriano*, according to the Calabrian antiquaries and Holstenius [f], occupies the site of Cæci- Cæcinum.

[d] Holsten. Adnot. p. 303.
[e] Mazzocchi, Diatr. in Tab. Heracl. I. p. 31. Romanelli, t. i. p. 189.
[f] Barr. l. iii. c. 16. Holsten. Adnot. p. 303. Romanelli, t. i. p. 180.

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num, mentioned by Mela (II. 4.) and Stephanus Byz. on the authority of Philistus. (v. Καίκινον.)

Elorus sive Elleporus fl.

Beyond is a small stream now called *Callipari*[g], which may probably be identified with the Elorus, or Elleporus, a rivulet rendered memorable from a severe defeat sustained by the allied Greeks on its banks, in an engagement with the forces of the elder Dionysius. This prince was then besieging the city of Caulon, to relieve which the Crotoniatæ and their confederates advanced with an army of 20,000 foot and 2000 horse. Dionysius having left a detachment to carry on the siege, marched with the main body of his army to meet them, when an engagement took place in which the Greeks were routed with great slaughter, between *S. Caterina* and *Stilo*, on the right bank of the *Callipari*[h]. This event, according to Polybius, occurred in 307 A.C. the same year that Rome was taken by the Gauls. (Polyb. I. 6. Diod. Sic. XIV. 104.)

Mystia.

At *Monasteraci*[i] we may, with Cluverius and others, place Mystia, an ancient town noticed by Mela, (II. 4.) Pliny, (III. 10.) and Steph. Byz. (v. Μυττία.)

Cocinthum Promontorium.

The headland now called *Capo di Stilo*[k], answers to the Cocinthum Promontorium, which, according to Polybius, marked the separation of the Ionian from the Sicilian sea. (II. 14. Cf. Plin. III. 10.)

Cocinthum Castrum.

A town probably named Cocinthum, but which is written Consilinum castrum, and Consentia, in Pliny (III. 10.) and Mela[l] (II. 4.) accords

[g] Swinburne's Travels, t. i. s. 44. p. 337. Romanelli, t. i. p. 177.

[h] Romanelli, t. i. p. 177.

[i] Cluver. Ital. Antiq. II. p. 1305. Holsten. Adnot. p. 303.

[k] Cluv. Ital. Antiq. II. 1305.

[l] Holsten. Adnot. p. 303. Romanelli, t. i. p. 170.

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apparently with *Stilo*, from which the above mentioned cape now derives its appellation. It is noticed in the Antonine Itinerary under the correct form of Cocintum.

Caulon, or Caulonia, originally perhaps Aulon, was one of the earliest colonies founded by the Achæans on these shores [m]. (Strab. VI. 261. Scymn. Ch. Perieg. v. 317. Steph. Byz. v. Αὐλών. Pausan. Eliac. II. 3. Scyl. Peripl. p. 5.) That it held a distinguished rank among the republics of Magna Græcia we may collect from Polybius, who records its alliance with Crotona and Sybaris. (II. 39. Thuc. VII. 25.) After the defeat sustained by the confederates on the Elleporus, Caulonia was forced to surrender to the troops of Dionysius, who caused it to be razed to the ground, and removed the unfortunate inhabitants to Syracuse, whilst their former territory was added to that of the Locrians. (Diod. Sic. XIV. 106.) Caulonia must however have risen again from its ruins, since we are told, that during the war against Pyrrhus, it espoused the cause of that prince, and was in consequence attacked and pillaged by the Mamertini, who were the allies of the Romans. (Pausan. Eliac. II. 3.) It is to this event that Strabo probably refers, when he says, that Caulonia fell into the hands of the barbarians, who expelled the inhabitants and forced them to migrate into Sicily. (VI. 261.) This town was subsequently occupied by the Brutii, who defended it against the Romans during the second Punic war. The siege

Caulon.

[m] The antiquity of this city is evinced by its coins, which bear every mark of an early date from being hollow on one side, and having the epigraph KAV, KAVL, and KAVLO, in Greek characters of a very rude and primitive form. Sestini, Monet. Vet. p. 17. Avellino. Giorn. Numism. No. VI.

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was raised by Hannibal. (Liv. XXVII. 12. and 15. Plut. vit. Fab. Max.) We learn from Virgil, that this town stood in an elevated situation. (Mel. II. 4. Plin. III. 10.)

> . . . . . Attollit se diva Lacinia contra,
> Caulonisque arces, et navifragum Scylaceum.
> Æn. III. 552.

Barrio, and the other Calabrian topographers, fixed its site at *Castro vetere* [n]; but this would not accord with the description of Strabo, who places it on the left bank of the Sagras, which, in the opinion of the best informed antiquaries, is the *Alaro;* besides, *Castro vetere* is too remote from the sea. Romanelli says, some traces of its walls may yet be observed on the slope of the mountain on which it was situated [o]; but Swinburne considered these remains to belong to some Roman buildings [p]. The situation of Caulon requires therefore to be more accurately explored.

Sagras fl. It was on the banks of the Sagras that the memorable overthrow of the Crotionatæ took place, when they were defeated by a force of 10,000 Locrians, with a small body of Rhegians. So extraordinary a result did this appear, that it gave rise to the proverbial expression, ἀληθέστερα τῶν ἐπὶ Σάγρᾳ. Among other marvellous circumstances connected with this event, it was reported, that the issue of the battle was known at Olympia the very day on which it was fought. (Strab. VI. 261. Cic. de Nat. Deor. II. 2. Justin. XX. 2.)

Geographers differ much as to the modern river

[n] Barr. l. iii. c. 14. Th. Acet. et Sert. Quattrom. not. ad eund.
[o] Romanelli, t. i. p. 168.
[p] Swinburne's Travels. s. 44. p. 339.

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which corresponds with this celebrated stream [q]; but if Romanelli is correct in affirming, that the mountain from which the *Alaro* takes its source is still called *Sagra* [r], we can have no difficulty in recognising that river as the ancient Sagras; more especially as its situation accords perfectly with the topography of Strabo. This appears to have been also Swinburne's opinion [s].

Romechium, a place on the coast mentioned only by Ovid, who alludes to it in his description of the progress of the vessel which conveyed the Epidaurian serpent, is said still to retain the name of *Romechi* [t]. Romechium.

> Linquit Iapygiam, lævisque Amphissia remis
> Saxa fugit: dextra prærupta Ceraunia parte,
> Romechiumque legit, Caulonaque Naryciamque.
> METAM. XV. 703.

The river Locanus, named by Pliny (III. 10.) and Ptolemy, (p. 62.) retains the name of *Locano* [u]. Near its source, and on the left bank, the Calabrian topographers place Castrum Minervæ, said to have been founded by Idomeneus after the siege of Troy, with the assistance of the Locrians. This is reported by Varro, in a fragment preserved by the grammarian Probus. (ad Virg. Ecl. VI.) Locanus fl. Castrum Minervæ.

Velleius Paterculus speaks also of Minervium as having been colonized at the same time with Scylacium; but as there was another town of that name in Iapygia, it is uncertain to which of the two he

[q] Barr. l. iii. c. 13. Acet. et Quattrom. not. ad eund. Maraf. l. ii. c. 29. Fr. Grimald. Annal. del regn. di Nap. Introd. c. 21. Cluver. Ital. Antiq. II. p. 1303.

[r] Romanelli, t. i. p. 161.

[s] Swinburne's Travels. s. 44. p. 340.

[t] Quattrom. not. ad Barr. l. iii. c. 13. Romanelli, t. i. p. 156.

[u] Barr. l. iii c. 12. Romanelli, t. i. p. 155.

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alludes. (Vell. Paterc. I. 15.) The antiquaries of Calabria agree in ascribing to this city the ruins called *Grotteria*, between *Castel vetere* and *Gerace* [x].

Buthrotus fl.

Returning to the coast we find the river Buthrotus, mentioned by Livy, (XXIX. 6.) now *Novito* [y]; and about two miles beyond are the ruins of Locri, one of the most ancient and distinguished republics of Magna Græcia. But the best informed writers of antiquity do not seem to have clearly ascertained either the period at which this celebrated city was founded, or the circumstances attending that event. According to Strabo, it was built not long after the foundation of Crotona and Syracuse, by Evanthes, at the head of a body of Locrians, from the Crissæan gulf, who are designated by the name of Ozolæ. They first settled near the Cape Zephyrium, and thence obtained the appellation of Epizephyrii, by which they were distinguished from the Locrians of Greece. They removed, however, from this position, three or four years afterwards, and built another city on a height, named Mount Esopis. Strabo remarks, that Ephorus was incorrect in ascribing the foundation of this city to the Locri Opuntii, who were also named Epicnemidii; but it is certain that this opinion of Ephorus seems to be supported by the testimony of many other writers, and therefore is generally preferred by modern critics [z].

Locri Epizephyrii.

Hinc et Narycii posuerunt mœnia Locri.

ÆN. III. 399.

[x] Barr. l. iii. c. 13. Quattrom. not. in eund. Romanelli, t. i. p. 147.

[y] Barr. l. iii. c. 12. Holsten. not. ad Ortel. v. Buthrot. Romanelli, t. i. p. 153.

[z] Mazzoch. in Tab. Heracl. diatr. I. c. 5. Heyn. de Cirit. Græc. prolus. 1. Opusc. Acad. t. ii. p. 46. Id. ad Virg. loc. cit.

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Romechiumque legit, Caulonaque Naryciamque.
OVID. METAM. XV. 705.

Narycia, or Naryx, was a town of the Locri Opuntii. (Strab. IX. 425. Steph. Byz. v. Νάρυξ. Cf. Solin. c. 8. Serv. ad Virg. loc. cit.) We derive some curious information relative to the origin of the Epizephyrian Locri from Polybius, who acquaints us, that from his having been the means of obtaining for this city a remission of heavy contributions on more than one occasion, he had contracted a feeling of kindness and partiality towards its inhabitants, which they on the other hand repaid by every mark of gratitude and attention. His frequent residence amongst them enabled him, as he states, to inquire minutely into their laws and institutions, so much admired by antiquity as the work of the celebrated legislator Zaleucus; and also into the early history, as well as origin, of their city. To the latter point he had paid the greater attention, from the obloquy and calumny which Timæus, the Sicilian historian, had heaped upon Aristotle, in his endeavour to refute what he deemed his false representation of that event. The great philosopher, in his work on the Italian republics, stated, that the colony which founded the Epizephyrian city, was formed principally by slaves, who, during the absence of their masters, had carried off their wives. This assertion, which called forth the invective, was however supported by Polybius, on the authority of the Locrians themselves; from whom he learned, that all their nobility was to be referred to the female part of their community, who had accompanied their ancestors from Greece, and were descended from the most illustrious families of their metropolis; and

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that so far from having derived their polity and customs from that quarter, as the Sicilian historian pretended, they had borrowed many of the rites and usages of the Siculi, who were in possession of the country at the time of their arrival, and whom they afterwards expelled [a]. (Polyb. Fragm. XII. 5.)

. . . . . οἱ δὲ λεγόμενοι
Ἐπιζεφύριοι πλησίον κεῖνται Λοκροί.
Τούτους δὲ πρώτους φασὶ χρήσασθαι νόμοις
Γραπτοῖσιν, οὓς Ζάλευκος ὑποθέσθαι δοκεῖ.
Εἰσὶ δ' ἄποικοι τῶν Ὀπουντίων Λοκρῶν.
Ἔνιοι δὲ Λοκρῶν φασι τῶν ἐν Ὀζόλαις.

Scym. Ch. v. 316.

Κεῖθεν δ' ἐς Βορέην Ζεφύρου παραφαίνεται ἄκρη.
Τῇ δ' ὕπο Λοκροὶ ἔασιν, ὅσοι προτέροις ἐτέεσσιν
Ἦλθον ἐπ' Αὐσονίην, σφετέρῃς μιχθέντες ἀνάσσαις.

Dionys. Perieg. v. 364.

But it was to the institutions of its great legislator Zaleucus, that this city was mainly indebted for its prosperity and fame [b]. His laws, which, according to the assertion of Demosthenes, continued in full force for the space of 200 years, (Orat. in Timocrat.) are said to have been a judicious selection of the Cretan, Lacedæmonian, and Areopagitic codes, to which were however added several original enactments; among which, that is noticed as particularly deserving of commendation, by which

[a] This fact, relative to the Siculi, seems to confirm the chronology of Thucydides regarding the migration of this people into Sicily, which he considers as having taken place subsequently to the siege of Troy. These Locrian Siculi must have been a remnant left on that occasion. (Thuc. VI. 2.)

[b] The existence of the celebrated Locrian legislator is so well attested, that it seems surprising any doubts should have been entertained on this head. Bentley's Dissertat. upon the Epist. of Phalar. p. 351.

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every offence had its peculiar penalty attached to it; whereas, in other systems of legislation, punishment was awarded according to the arbitrary decision of the judge. The Thurians, who afterwards adopted the code of Zaleucus, injured its simplicity by their additions, in which too much attention was paid to minute points and matters of detail. (Ephor. ap. Strab. VI. 260. Cf. Plat. de Leg. I. p. 638. et Tim. p. 1041. ubi vid. Procl. p. 22. Diod. Sic. XII. 20. Athen. X. 7. Cic. de Leg. II. 6.)

From its greater proximity to Sicily, Locri appears to have been involved in the politics of that country at a more early period than the other Italiot cities. We learn from Pindar, and his Scholiast, that being threatened with war by Anaxilaus and Cleophron, tyrants of Rhegium and Messana, Locri was freed from the impending danger by the powerful interference of Hiero, king of Syracuse.

> . . . . . σὲ δ', ὦ Δεινομένειε παῖ,
> Ζεφυρία πρὸ δόμων
> Λοκρὶς παρθένος ἀπύει,
> Πολεμίων καμάτων ἐξ ἀμαχάνων
> Διὰ τεὰν δύναμιν θρακεῖσ' ἀσφαλές.
>
> PYTH. II. 34.

The same poet has, on two other occasions, paid a just tribute to the wisdom and sound sense which presided over the counsels of this little republic, and so peculiarly marked the character of its citizens.

> Κόσμον ἐπὶ στεφάνῳ χρυσέας ἐλαίας
> Ἀδυμελῆ κελαδήσω, τῶν Ἐπι-
> ζεφυρίων Λοκρῶν γενεὰν ἀλέγων.
> Ἔνθα συγκωμάξατ', ἐγγυάσομαι
> Μή μιν, ὦ Μοῖσαι, φυγοξένον στρατὸν,

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Μηδ' ἀπείρατον καλῶν,
Ἀκρόσοφον δὲ καὶ αἰχματὰν, ἀφίξεσθαι —
OLYMP. XI. 13.

Νέμει γὰρ Ἀτρέικεια πόλιν Λοκρῶν
Ζεφυρίων· μέλει τέ σφισι Καλλίοπα,
Καὶ χάλκεος Ἄρης. — OLYMP. X. 17.

In the Peloponnesian war, we find the Locrians generally mentioned as the allies of the Syracusans, and consequently exposed to hostilities on the part of Athens. (Thuc. III. 99. Diod. Sic. XII. 54.) After the total failure of the expedition sent by that power into Sicily, the Peloponnesian fleet, destined to act against Eubœa and Attica, was reinforced by a few galleys from Locri. (Thuc. VIII. 91.)

The alliance which this city contracted not long after with Dionysius the elder, who had espoused Doris, the daughter of one of its principal citizens, is justly regarded by Aristotle as a disastrous event; since many of the misfortunes, which afterwards befell the republic, are to be traced to this impolitic marriage. (Aristot. Polit. V. 7. Diod. Sic. XIV. 107.) It appeared at first indeed calculated to promote the interests of the Locrians, by conciliating the favour of this powerful and crafty ally, who successively increased their territory by the grant of lands taken from Caulonia, Hipponium, Rhegium, and Crotona. (Diod. Sic. XIV. 107.) But no doubt they would have finally shared the fate of the three first cities, had not death put an end to the designs of the tyrant. They experienced, however, from his son Dionysius the younger, the fruit of his marriage with Doris, the most wanton and cruel oppression. He is reported to have tyrannized over this city in a

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manner which, were it not attested by the most respectable writers of antiquity, would now scarcely obtain credit. This wicked prince, having been expelled from the throne of Syracuse, had here found refuge from the storm which threatened his existence. But depraved as he was degraded, he repaid the kindness of a people, who considered him as their kinsman and ally, with the basest treachery and ingratitude. Having introduced into the town a number of his satellites, who succeeded in overpowering the inhabitants, he gave loose to all the vicious propensities of his nature. The Locrians were long exposed to the outrages and indignities thus heaped upon them; but at length a revolution having occurred at Syracuse, Dionysius was recalled to his throne, and the citizens of Locri were thus delivered from this obnoxious tyrant. His wife and family having, however, remained in Italy, became exposed to the fury of a justly incensed and exasperated populace. Horrid as is the vengeance which they are said to have taken on these unfortunate victims of a husband and father's crimes, it serves to confirm the accounts which ancient writers have transmitted to us, of the iniquity and barbarity of a prince whose mean and imbecile conduct at other times sanctions the notion entertained by a great philosopher, of the disordered state of his intellect. (Aristot. Rhet. II. 15. Cf. Strab. VI. 259. Clearch. ap. Athen. XII. 11. Ælian. Var. Hist. IX. 8.)

Though greatly reduced from its former prosperity, Locri still retained its independence when Pyrrhus invaded Italy. In the war which ensued, it was occupied by a part of that king's forces; but on his crossing over into Sicily, the Locrians joined the Ro-

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mans, after having put to the sword the Epirot garrison. (App. Excerpt.) This offence was afterwards visited with the severest vengeance of the incensed monarch; who, on his return to Italy, made himself once more master of the town, and vented his rage on the lives and possessions of the unfortunate inhabitants, in the most stern and relentless manner. Not satisfied with the seizure and confiscation of private property, he even dared to plunder the temple of Proserpine, one of the wealthiest and most hallowed shrines in Italy, which had already attracted the cupidity of the elder Dionysius. (Cic. de Nat. Deor. III. 34. Val. Max. I. 1.) This act of impiety in the king of Epirus was considered as the cause of all the reverses and disasters which he afterwards experienced. (Dion. Hal. Excerpt. Diod. Sic. Excerpt. Liv. XXIX. 18.)

In the second Punic war, Locri followed the example of the other Greek colonies in siding with the Carthaginians; but towards its termination, this town again fell into the hands of the Romans, who left a garrison there under the command of Q. Pleminius. The conduct of this officer and his troops towards the inhabitants whom they were called upon to protect, as described by the eloquent pen of the great Roman historian, appears to have far surpassed in licentiousness, wanton cruelty, and hardened atrocity, all that the rage of an enemy could have inflicted upon a conquered city. The complaints of the Locrian people to the Roman senate on this occasion were loud and urgent, and a commission was in consequence appointed to inquire into the charges preferred against the governor, and to restore order in the town. Pleminius, on being brought to Rome,

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was thrown into prison, where he terminated a life of infamy. (Liv. XXIX. 17. et seq.)

The situation of ancient Locri has not been hitherto determined with accuracy, though the most judicious antiquaries and travellers agree in fixing it in the vicinity of *Gerace* [c]. This modern town stands on a hill, which is probably the Mons Esopis of Strabo, and where the citadel was doubtless placed; the elevated position of Locri is also to be inferred from a fragment of Pindar. Esopis Mons.

. . . . . οἵ τ' ἀργείλοφον
Πὰρ Ζεφυρίου κολώναν.
Schol. ad Olymp. X. 17.

But the name of *Pagliapoli*, which is attached to some considerable ruins below *Gerace*, naturally leads to the supposition, that this was the site of the Epizephyrian Locri [d]. D'Anville removed it too far to the south, when he supposed it to accord with the *Motta di Bruzzano* [e].

On the coast south of Locri we must place the Uria, or Orra, of the Locrians, said to have been founded by Idomeneus, together with Castrum Minervæ, which has been already noticed. (Varr. ap. Prob. ad Virg. Eclog. VI.) We find this town mentioned also by Livy, who states, that the Roman prætor, C. Lucretius, having taken the command of a fleet destined to act against Perseus of Macedon, sailed from Ostia, after having sent forward his bro- Uria vel Orra Locrorum.

[c] Barr. l. iii. c. 9. Cluver. Ital. Antiq. II. p. 1301. Romanelli, t. i. p. 151.

[d] Riedesel, Voyage dans la Grande Grece p. 140. Swinburne's Travels, s. 44. p. 340.

[e] Geogr. Anc. p. 58. fol.

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ther, M. Lucretius, with orders to collect from the allied towns the number of vessels they were bound to furnish; on which occasion that officer is said to have obtained ships from the Rhegians, Locrians, and Urites[f]. (Liv. XLII. 47.) Romanelli, on the authority of a native antiquary, fixes the site of Uria at a spot called *Palazzi*, between *Bianco* and *Bovalino*[g].

Zephyrium Promontorium.

The Zephyrian Promontory, from whence the Locrians derived the appellation of Epizephyrii, is now called *Capo di Bruzzano*[h]. (Strab. VI. 259.) The most southern angle of Italy to the east, formed by the Herculeum Promontorium, is known in modern geography by the name of *Capo Spartivento*[i]. (Strab. loc. cit.)

Herculeum Promontorium.

Calcinus fl.

It appears that the Caïcinus at one time marked the line of separation between the territories of Locri and Rhegium. This river is noticed by ancient writers for a natural phenomenon, which was observed to occur on its banks. It was said that the cicadæ on the side of Locria were always chirping and musical, whilst those on the opposite bank were as constantly silent.

This stream acquired also some celebrity from the tradition respecting Euthymus, a famous athlet of Locri, who was said to have disappeared in its waters. (Pausan. Eliac. Post. VI. 6. Ælian. Var. Hist VIII.

[f] We have further proof of the existence of this city from the rare coins bearing the epigraph ΟΡΡΑ ΛΟΚΡΩΝ, on the reverse, around a bunch of grapes; on the obverse, a warrior's head. Eckhel. Doctr. Num. Vet. p. 183. Lanzi, p. iii. p. 606.

[g] T. i. p. 146.

[h] Cluver. Ital. Antiq. II. p. 1300. Romanelli, t. i. p. 143.

[i] Cluver. Ital. Antiq. eod. loc. Romanelli, t. i. p. 140.

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18.) Thucydides adverts to the Caïcinus, when describing the operations of an Athenian fleet off the coast of Sicily and Italy, in the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war; and states, that some troops belonging to that power having landed in the Locrian territory, defeated a party of the inhabitants near this river. (Thuc. III. 103.) The Caïcinus is supposed by Romanelli to correspond with the *Amendolea*, which falls into the sea about ten miles to the west of *Capo Spartivento* [k].

It should be observed, however, that the peculiarity noticed by Pausanias respecting the habits of the cicadæ on this river, is applied by Strabo and other writers to the Halex, now *Alece*, which they consider to have been the boundary between the two districts already mentioned. (Strab. VI. 260. Con. ap. Phot. Biblioth. CLXXXVI. Diod. Sic. IV. 22. Plin. XI. 27.) The proximity of these two rivers may account for their having been sometimes confounded [l]. On the left banks of the Halex was Peripolium, a town belonging to the Locrians, as we learn from Thucydides, and which was taken by the Athenians previous to their skirmish with that people on the Caïcinus. (III. 99.) Barrio and some of the earlier Italian geographers were of opinion, that the site of this place accorded with that of *Amendolea*, on the left bank of the river of the same name, and about four miles from the sea [m]. Romanelli supposes that Peripolium stood nearer to the coast, on a spot now called *Limmana* [n]. Thucydides, however, positively asserts that this town or fortress was near the Halex,

Halex fl.

Peripolium.

[k] T. i. p. 139.
[l] Romanelli, t. i. p. 139.
[m] Barr. l. iii. c. 5. Acet. Not. in eund. Cluver. Ital. Antiq. II. 1303.
[n] Romanelli, t. i. p. 141.

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and he is too accurate a writer not to be implicitly followed [o].

Having now concluded the topography of the eastern coast, I must proceed to describe that portion of the province situated on the Tyrrhenian sea, commencing from the river Laus, which separated the Lucanian from the Bruttian territory.

Batus fl. The small stream which Pliny calls Batus retains the name of *Bato*. (III. 10.) The town of Cerilla,

Cerillæ. or Cerillæ, a little beyond, is evidently *Cirella vecchia* [p]. (Strab. VI. 255.)

> . . . . . sese ostendere miles
> Leucosiæ e scopulis, nunc quem Picentia Pæsto
> Misit, et exhaustæ mox Pœno Marte Cerillæ.
> SIL. ITAL. VIII. 579.

Parthenius Portus. The Portus Parthenius, ascribed by Pliny to the Phocians, (III. 10. Cf. Solin. c. 8.) is placed by the Calabrian geographers near *Cirella* [q].

Patycus. Patycus, named only by Stephanus Byz. (v. Πατυκὸς) and classed by him among the inland towns of the Œnotri, is generally supposed to have occupied the site of *Paola*, about twenty-four miles south of *Cirella* [r].

Clampetia vel Lampetia. Clampetia, or Lampetia, as the name was written by the Greeks, (Polyb. ap. Steph. Byz. v. Λαμπέτεια.) is probably the modern *Amantea* [s]. It is noticed

[o] Sestini has published two rare coins, with the legend ΠΕΡΙΠΟΛΙΩΝ. ΠΙΘΗΝΑΤΑΝ. which he refers to this town. Lett. Numis. t. iii. 6. p. 24. Monet. Vet. p. 18.

[p] Cluver. Ital. Antiq. II. 1285. Romanelli, t. i. p. 24.

[q] Barr. l. ii. c. 5. Antonin. dell. Lucan, p. ii. disc. 3. Romanelli, t. i. p. 26.

[r] Barr. l. ii. c. 5. Holsten. Adnot. in Ortel.

[s] Cluver. Ital. Antiq. II. p. 1285. Romanelli, t. i. p. 30.

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by Livy as an inconsiderable town of the Brutii. (XXIX. 38. XXX. 19. Cf. Mel. II. 4. Plin. III. 5.)

The promontory called Lampetes by Lycophron, is the *Capo di Lamantia*, in the vicinity of the town from whence it derives its present name [t]. Lampetes promontorium.

. . . . . ἔνθα Λαμπέτης
Ἱππωνίου πρηῶνος εἰς Τηθὺν κέρας
Σκληρὸν νένευκεν. — v. 1067.

Two other headlands, mentioned by the same poet under the names of Linum and Tyllesius, are supposed to answer to *Capo Verre* and *Capo Corica*; the one to the north, the other to the south of *Amantea* [u]. (Cf. Tzetz. Comm. Steph. Byz. v. Τυλησσός.) Linum promontorium. Tyllesii Scopuli.

Ἄλλοι δὲ πρῶνας δυσβάτους Τυλλησίους,
Λίνου θ' ἁλισμίκτοιο δειραίαν ἄκραν,
Ἀμαζόνος σύγκληρον ἄρσονται πέδον. v. 993.

Beyond, the Sabbatus of the Itineraries is the *Savuto*, a considerable stream to which Lycophron is supposed to allude frequently under the appellation of Ocinarus. On its left bank was Terina, an ancient Greek city, said to be a colony of Crotona. (Scymn. Ch. v. 305. Plin. III. 5. Phleg. ap. Steph. Byz. v. Τέρινα.) The earliest writers who have noticed this town are Scylax (Peripl. p. 5.) and Lycophron. Ocinarus vel Sabbatus fl. Terina.

Οἱ δ' αὖ Τέρειναν, ἔνθα μυδαίνει ποτοῖς
Ὠκίναρος γῆν, φοῖβον ἐκβράσσων ὕδωρ,
Ἄλῃ κατοικήσουσι κάμνοντες πικρᾷ.

[t] Romanelli, t. i. p. 27.
[u] Barr. l. ii. c. 9. Acet. Quattrom. Not. ad eund. Romanelli, t. i. p. 91.

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Terinæus Sinus.

We are assured that this must have been a place of importance at a remote period, from its having given the name of Terinæus Sinus to the gulf on which it stood. This fact we learn from Thucydides, who relates that Gylippus the Lacedæmonian was driven into it by adverse winds from the coast of Sicily. (VI. 104. Plin. III. 5.) Strabo informs us the city was destroyed by Hannibal, when he found he could no longer retain it. (VI. 255.) It was probably restored at a later period, as we find it named by Pliny and Ptolemy. (p. 63.) The Italian geographers, together with Cluverius and Holstenius, have recognised the ruins of Terina close to the little town of *Nocera*, about five miles from the coast[x]. But it may be doubted whether these remains do not in fact belong to an ancient city called Nucria, the coins of which are preserved in more than one collection[y]. It may be remarked also, that Stephanus Byz. names Nucria as a town of the Tyrrheni, on the authority of Philistus. (v. Νουκρία.) It is probable, however, that Terina was situated in the immediate vicinity of *Nocera*. A rock or islet which lay off this coast, was named Ligea, from one of the Sirens who was reported to have been entombed there. (Cf. Steph. Byz. v. Τέρινα. Solin. c. 8.)

Nucria.

Ligea insula.

Λίγεια δ' εἰς Τέρειναν ἐκναυσθλώσεται
Κλύδωνα χελλύσουσα. τὴν δὲ ναυάται

[x] Barr. l. ii. c. 10. Th. Acet. et Quattrom. Not. Cluv. Ital. Antiq. II. p. 1287. Holsten. Not in Ortel.

[y] The coins here alluded to have on the obverse a head of Apollo crowned with laurel, and the legend NOTKPINΩN; on the reverse a lion's head. Those of Terina differ in no respect but in the epigraph, which is TEPINA. and TEPINAIΩN. Avellin. Ital. Vet. Num. vol. i. suppl. p. 21. Sestini, Lett. Numis. t. iv. p. 6. and Monet. Vet. p. 18.

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Κρόκαισι ταρχύσουσιν ἐν παρακτίαις,
Ὠκινάρου δίναισιν ἀγχιτέρμονα. LYCOPHR. v. 726.

This rock is now known as the *Pietra della nave*. The *Rivale*, a rivulet which flows into the sea opposite to it, seems to be the Ares of Lycophron. Ares fl.

Λούσει δὲ σῆμα βούκερως νασμοῖς Ἄρης,
Ὀρνιθόπαιδος ἵσμα φοιβάζων ποτοῖς. v. 730.

Somewhat to the south-west of Terina, and nearer the coast, was Temesa, or Tempsa, a town of great antiquity, celebrated for its copper mines, to which Homer is supposed to have referred in the Odyssey. Temesa. sive Tempsa.

Νῦν δ' ἄνδε ξὺν νηῒ κατήλυθον ἠδ' ἐτάροισι,
Πλέων ἐπὶ οἴνοπα πόντον ἐπ' ἀλλοθρόους ἀνθρώπους,
Ἐς Τεμέσην μετὰ χαλκόν· ἄγω δ' αἴθωνα σίδηρον.
ODYSS. A. 182.

This circumstance however is doubtful, as there was a town of the same name in Cyprus. (Strab. VI. 255. Steph. Byz. v. Ταμέση et Τεμέση.)

Evincitque fretum, Siculique angusta Pelori,
Hippotadæque domos regis, Temesesque metalla.
OVID. METAM. XV. 706.

. . . . . Temesæaque concrepat æra.
ID. FAST. V. 441.

Et cui se toties Temese dedit hausta metallis.
STAT. SILV. I. 1. 42.

In Strabo's time these mines appear to have been exhausted.

According to this geographer Temesa was originally in the possession of the Ausones, but received afterwards a colony of Ætolians under the command of Thoas, and was at a still later period conquered by the Brutii. This town having sustained great injury in the second Punic war, was colonized by the

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Romans, who called it Tempsa, A. U. C. 558. (Liv. XXXIV. 45. Strab. VI. 255. Cic. Orat. in Verr. V. 16.) The situation of Temesa has not yet been fully determined. The antiquaries of Calabria supposed that it stood either at *Malvito* [z] or *San Lucito* [a], considerably to the north of *Amantea*, from the great appearance of ancient mines in that district; but the authority of Strabo, who asserts that it was close to Terina, and that of Pliny, who places it south of Clampetia, (III. 5. Mel. II. 4. Ptol. p. 63.) as does also the Tabula Theodosiana, seem to be decisive in favour of the opinion of Cluverius, who fixes this ancient site near *Torre Loppa*, about ten miles to the south of *Amantea* [b]. Romanelli observes, however, that Cluverius has not allowed for the difference between the ancient and modern computation of distance; and to rectify this oversight, he removes Tempsa to *Torre del piano del Casale*, nearly two miles further north than *Torre Loppa* [c].

Τῶν Ναυβολείων δ' εἰς Τέμεσσαν ἐγγόνων
Ναῦται καταβλώξουσι. LYCOPHR. v. 1067.

In the vicinity of Temesa was the heroon, or chapel, of Polites, a companion of Ulysses, who is said to have been killed treacherously by the natives. His shade in consequence haunted the spot, and so tormented the inhabitants, that they were compelled to sacrifice a virgin annually, in order to appease the disturbed spirit. From this penalty

[z] Barr. l. ii. c. 4. Girol. Maraf. l. ii. c. 10.

[a] Th. Acet. Sert. Quattrom. Not. ad Barr. loc. cit.

[b] Cluverius, Ital. Antiq. II. p. 1286.

[c] T. i. p. 36. The silver coins of Temesa, which are reputed to be very scarce, have the Greek epigraph TEM. Sestini, Monet. Vet. p. 18.

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they were at length freed by the valour and strength of Euthymus, a Locrian athlet, who engaged and conquered the spectre. (Strab. loc. cit. Pausan. Eliac. II. 6.)

Further south was Lametini, noticed by Stephanus Byz. on the authority of Hecatæus, as a city situated near Crotona [d]. (v. Λαμητῖνοι.) From Aristotle (Polit. VII. 10.) we learn, that it once gave its name to the gulf on which it stood, now *Golfo di S. Eufemia*. Lametini. Lametinus Sinus.

Ὑπὲρ πόρον Τυρσηνὸν ἐν Λαμητίαις
Δίναισιν οἰκήσουσι Λευκανῶν πλάκας. LYCOPHR. 1285.

It is generally supposed the town of *S. Eufemia* represents this ancient city [e].

The promontory which closes the bay of *S. Eufemia* to the north, now *Capo Suvero*, was also named after the ancient Lametia [f]. Lametinum promontorium.

The river Lametes, mentioned by Stephanus Byz. (v. Λαμητῖνοι.) nearly retains its appellation in that of *Lamato*. Lametes fl.

The same gulf, which is designated Terinæus and Lametinus by Pliny and Aristotle, was also termed Napitinus, as Strabo reports, from Antiochus of Syracuse; (VI. 2.) and it is generally admitted, that it was so called from Napitia, a city seated on its shores, and probably occupying the site of the present town of *Pizzo* [g]. Napitinus Sinus. Napitia.

Hipponium, a city of greater importance and celebrity Hipponium postea Vibo Valentia.

[d] We should perhaps read "a colony of Crotona."

[e] Barr. l. ii. c. 10. Sert. Quattrom. not. ad eund. Maraf. l. iv. c. 24. Cluver. Ital. Antiq. II. p. 1289. Romanelli, t. i. p. 44.

[f] Romanelli, t. i. p. 43.

[g] Acet. et Quattrom. Not. ad Barr. l. ii. c. 9. Holsten. Adnot. p. 295.

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lebrity than those which have hitherto been enumerated on this coast, is reported by Strabo to have been founded by the Epizephyrian Locri[h]. (VI. 256. Scymn. Ch. v. 307. Scyl. Peripl. p. 4.) We learn from Diodorus, that not long afterwards it was destroyed by Dionysius the elder, who transplanted the inhabitants to Syracuse. It was restored however by the Carthaginians, who were then at war with that prince. (Diod. Sic. XIV. 107. and XV. 24.) Subsequently it fell into the hands of the Brutii, together with all the Greek settlements on this coast. (Strab. loc. cit.) About 297 years A. C. Agathocles, tyrant of Sicily, seized upon the harbour of Hipponium, which he fortified, and even succeeded in obtaining possession of the town for a short period. He was soon however compelled by the Brutii to relinquish it, together with the port. (Diod. Sic. Excerpt. XXI. 8. Strab. loc. cit.)

This city became a colony of the Romans, A. U. C. 560, and took the name of Vibo Valentia[i]. (Liv. XXXV. 40. Cf. Vell. Paterc. I. 14. Strab. loc. cit.)

We find frequent mention made of this town, towards the close of the republic, by Cicero, who resided there for some time on the estate of his friend Sica, previous to his quitting Italy, from whence he had been exiled. (ad Att. VIII. Ep. 2. et 3.)

In one of his orations against Verres, he designates it, "illustre et nobile municipium;" it is also noticed in Cæsar, whose fleet was engaged with that

[h] As Heyne supposes, about 388 years A. C. Opusc. Academ. t. ii. prolus. 14. p. 263.

[i] The Greek coins of this city have the inscription ΙΠΩΝΙΕΩΝ, and ΙΠΠΩΝΙΕΩΝ. The epigraph of the Roman medals is VALENTIA. Sestini, Monet. Vet. p. 17. and Lett. Numis. t. iii. 3. p. 17.

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of Pompey, in the gulf of Vibo. (Civ. Bell. III. 101.) Appian styles it one of the most flourishing towns of Italy. (Civ. Bell. IV. 3. Cf. Mel. II. 4. Plin. III. 5. Ptol. p. 63.)

In the vicinity of Hipponium was a grove and meadow of singular beauty; also a building said to have been constructed by Gelon of Syracuse, called Amalthæa's horn. (Duris ap. Athen. XII. 11.) It was here probably that the women of the city and its vicinity assembled, as Strabo affirms, on certain festivals, to gather flowers, and twine garlands for their hair in honour of Proserpine, who had herself, as it was said, frequented this spot for the same purpose, (VI. 256.) and to whom a magnificent temple was here erected[k].

Antiquaries and topographers are generally of opinion, that the modern town of *Monte Leone* represents the ancient Hipponium, and they recognise its haven in the present harbour of *Bivona*[l].

The gulf, which has been so often alluded to under the names of Terinæus, Lametinus, and Napitinus, derived its fourth appellation of Hipponiates Sinus, from the city to which we have just adverted. (Strab. VI. 254.) The Latins termed it Vibonensis Sinus. (Plin. III. 5.) Hipponiates Sinus.

According to Pliny, some islets, or shoals off Vibo, were named from Ulysses Ithacesiæ Insulæ. (III. 5.) They are said to be now called *Brace*, *Praca*, and *Torricella*[m]. Ithacesiæ insulæ.

[k] Barr. l. ii. c. 12. Bisogni de Hipponio, l. i. c. 9.

[l] Barr. loc. cit. Acet. Sert. Quattrom. not. ad eund. Cluver. Ital. Antiq. II. p. 1291. Romanelli, t. i. p. 56.

[m] Barr. l. ii. c. 13. Cluver. Ital. Antiq. II. p. 1291. Holsten. Adnot. p. 295.

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Tropæa. The small town of *Tropea*, on the coast, is supposed by Holstenius to represent the ancient city called Prostropræa (in Latin, ad Tropœa) by Stephanus Byz. though the latter ascribes it to Sicily: this is one of the inaccuracies which are not uncommon with that compiler. Holstenius further adduces, in support of his opinion, several acts of councils, which speak of Tropæa as the see of a bishop [n].

Portus Herculis. The Portus Herculis of Strabo (VI. 256.) and Pliny (III. 5.) is now called *le Formicole* [o]. The promontory named *Capo Vaticano* seems to have been anciently known under the same appellation [p]. (Plin. VIII. 14. Solin. c. 8.)

Vaticanum promontorium.

Medma vel Mesma. Medma, or Mesma, situated on the right bank of the river *Mesima*, which retains some traces of the ancient name, was a city of some importance, and of Greek origin; having been colonized by the Locrians, together with Hipponium [q]. (Strab. VI. 25. Scymn. Ch. v. 307. Scyl. Peripl. p. 4. Hecat. ap. Steph. Byz. v. Μέδμη. Apollod. ap. eund. v. Μέσμα.) According to Strabo, (loc. cit.) it derived its name from a great fountain in its vicinity. In Pliny it is written corruptly Medua. (III. 5.) Antiquaries report, that the ruins of this city are to be seen between Nicotera and the river *Medama*, but nearer to the latter [r].

Metaurum. Beyond was Metaurum, the site of which is gene-

[n] Adnot. p. 296. Cellar. Geogr. Ant. II. 9.

[o] Barr. l. ii. c. 13. Maraf. l. ii. c. 17. Holsten. Adnot. p. 296.

[p] Romanelli, t. i. p. 60.

[q] The epigraph on the coins of this city is generally ΜΕΣΜΑ, or ΜΕΣΜΑΙΩΝ, and in a single instance ΜΕΔΑΜΑ. Sestini, Lett. Numis. t. vi. p. 11. Mionnet. t, i. Suppl. p. 346.

[r] Grimaldi, Annal. del regno di Nap. Introd. c. 13. t. i. Romanelli, t. i. p. 65.

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rally supposed to accord with that of the town of *Gioja*[s]. Stephanus Byz. states, that this ancient city was also a colony of Locri; and he further informs us, that, according to some accounts, it gave birth to the poet Stesichorus, though that honour was also claimed by Himera in Sicily. (Steph. Byz. v. Μάταυρος. Suid. v. Στησίχορος.) Solinus (c. 8.) asserts, that Metaurum was founded by the Zanclæans. (Mel. II. 4.) The river Metaurus is now called *Marro*, and sometimes *Petrace*[t]. It appears to have been noted for the excellence of the thunny-fish caught at its mouth. (Athen. VII. 63.) Strabo speaks of a port of the same name, which may have been the town above noticed. (VI. 256.)

Metaurus fl.

The little haven now called *Ravagoso*[u], is thought probably to represent the port of Orestes, mentioned by Pliny. (III. 5.) Tradition affirmed, that Orestes having landed here, was purified from the stain of a mother's blood, by his ablutions in the waters of seven streams which flowed near Rhegium. Their names, as Varro reports, were Lapadon, Micodes, Eugion, Staseros, Polme, Melcissa, Argeades[x]; and it is imagined, that these rivers were so many branches of the Metaurus, which unite about eight miles above its mouth[y]. The last branch is noticed in the Tabula Theodosiana, under the name of Arciades.

Portus Orestis.

Lapadon, Micodes, Eugion, Staseros, Polme, Melcissa, Argeades, fl.

On the left bank of the Metaurus, and on the site now called *Traviano*[z], we must place Tauriana, a city mentioned by Mela, (II. 4.) Pliny, (III. 5.) and

Tauriana.

[s] Barr. l. ii. c. 16. Acet. et Quattrom. Not. in eund. Romanelli, t. i. p. 67.

[t] Barr. loc. cit. Cluver. Ital. Antiq. II. 1292.

[u] Barr. loc. cit. Holsten. Adnot. p. 299.

[x] Barr. loc. cit.

[y] Romanelli, t. i. p. 68.

[z] Grimaldi, Annal. del regn. di Nap. Introd. t. i. c. 13. Romanelli, t. i. p. 70.

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Stephanus Byz. (v. Ταυρανία.) It appears to have been an episcopal see till the time of the Norman princes [a].

Balarus Portus.

The Portus Balarus, spoken of by Appian, (Civ. Bell. IV. 85.) as being near the straits of Sicily, is placed by Cluverius and Holstenius at *Tropea* [b], but with greater probability by Romanelli at *Bagnara* [c].

Sinus Brutius.

It may be observed, that the Sinus Brutius of Mela (II. 4.) answers to the modern *Golfo di Gioja* [d].

Cratais fl.

Next in order is a rivulet which Pliny calls Cratais, and to which he applies that passage of the Odyssey, in which Calypso enjoins Ulysses, after having escaped from the jaws of Scylla, to urge his rowers, and to call aloud upon Crataiis, mother of that monster (Plin. III. 10. Solin. c. 8.)

> Ἀλλὰ μάλα σφοδρῶς ἐλάαν, βωστρεῖν δὲ Κραταιΐν,
> Μητέρα τῆς Σκύλλης ἥ μιν' τέκε πῆμα βροτοῖσιν·
> Ἣ μιν ἔπειτ' ἀποπαύσει ἐς ὕστερον ὁρμηθῆναι.
>
> Odyss. M. 124.

This torrent is known at present by the name of *Solano*, or *Fiume de' pesci* [e].

Scylla.

The famous rock of Scylla, to which antiquity attached such ideas of terror, still retains its name, though it has long ceased to be formidable. Homer describes it as a lofty inaccessible rock with a cavern below, in the depths of which lurked the howling monster.

[a] Holsten. Adnot. p. 299.
[b] Cluver. Ital. Antiq. II. 1294.
[c] Holsten. Adnot. p. 297.
[d] Id. loc. cit.
[e] Barr. l. ii. c. 18. Quattrom. Not. ad eund. Holsten. Adnot. p. 300. Romanelli, t. i. p. 73.

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. . . . . ὁ μὲν οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἱκάνει
Ὀξείῃ κορυφῇ, νεφέλη δέ μιν ἀμφιβέβηκε
Κυανέη· τὸ μὲν οὔποτ' ἐρωεῖ, οὐδέποτ' αἴθρη
Κείνου ἔχει κορυφὴν, οὔτ' ἐν θέρει, οὔτ' ἐν ὀπώρῃ·
Οὐδέ κεν ἀμβαίη βροτὸς ἀνὴρ, οὐ καταβαίη,
Οὐδ' εἰ οἱ χεῖρές γε ἐείκοσι καὶ πόδες εἶεν·
Πέτρη γὰρ λίς ἐστι, περιξεστῇ εἰκυῖα.
Μέσσῳ δ' ἐν σκοπέλῳ ἐστὶ σπέος ἠεροειδὲς.

* * * *

Ἔνθα δ' ἐνὶ Σκύλλη ναίει, δεινὸν λελακυῖα·
Τῆς ἤτοι φωνὴ μὲν ὅση σκύλακος νεογιλῆς
Γίνεται, αὐτὴ δ' αὖτε πέλωρ κακός· οὐδέ κέ τίς μιν
Γηθήσειεν ἰδὼν, οὐδ' εἰ θεὸς ἀντιάσειεν.

ODYSS. M. 73.

At Scyllam cæcis cohibet spelunca latebris,
Ora exertantem, et naves in saxa trahentem.

* * * *

Præstat Trinacrii metas lustrare Pachyni
Cessantem, longos et circum flectere cursus;
Quam semel informem vasto vidisse sub antro
Scyllam, et cœruleis canibus resonantia saxa.

ÆN. III. 424.

It was supposed by some writers, that Scylla was in reality a formidable Tyrrhenian corsair, who long infested the Sicilian sea. (Palæphat. de Incred. Hist. 21.) Strabo speaks of the Scyllæum as an elevated cliff, surrounded nearly on every side by the sea, but connected with the land by a low isthmus easily accessible on either side. This peninsula was enclosed by a fortification which Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, raised against the Tyrrheni. By this means was formed a commodious haven, where he stationed his fleets in order to defend the straits. (VI. 257.) We must therefore ascribe to this prince the origin of the town called Scyllæum, which is noticed Scyllæum.

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by Mela (II. 4.) and Pliny. (III. 5.) It was perhaps within this peninsula, as Plutarch relates, that Spartacus was hemmed in, with his followers, by Crassus. (Plut. vit. Crass. Flor. III. 20. App. Civ. Bell. I. 118.) The isthmus, however, has now disappeared, owing to the encroachments of the sea, caused by the current which has long been setting in towards the Italian coast [f].

Malliæ. About five miles from the coast a place called *Melia*, where some considerable ruins are said to exist [g], doubtless answers to the station on the Via Aquilia, named ad Mallias in the Antonine Itinerary. We should perhaps identify it also with Malanius, classed by Stephanus Byz. among the inland Œnotrian towns, on the authority of Hecatæus, in his Periegesis of Europe. (v. Μαλανίος.)

Cænys promontorium. Next to the Scyllæan promontory was that of Cænys, a remarkable point as facing Cape Pelorus in Sicily, and forming by its means the narrowest part of the Fretum Siculum. (Strab. VI. 256.) According to Pliny, these two promontories were separated by an interval of twelve stadia, or a mile and a half; (III. 10.) a statement which accords with that of Polybius. (I. 42.) Thucydides, on the other hand, seems to allow two miles and a half for the breadth of the strait, but at the same time considers this as the very utmost amount of the distance. (VI. 1.) Topographers are divided as to the exact point of the Italian coast which answers to Cape Cænys; the Calabrian geographers say, the *Punta del Pezzo*, called also *Coda del Volpe*, in which

[f] Romanelli, t. i. p. 77.

[g] Romanelli, t. i. p. 78.

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opinion Cluverius and D'Anville coincide [h]; but Holstenius contends for the *Torre del Cavallo* [i]. This perhaps may in fact be the narrowest point; but it does not apparently answer so well to Strabo's description of the figure and bearing of Cape Cænys.

Columna Rhegina.

The Columna Rhegina was probably a pillar set up to mark the termination of the consular road, leading to the south of Italy. (Mel. II. 4. Plin. III. 5. Cic. Orat. pro Sext. 8.) Strabo speaks of it as a small tower. (III. 171.) In the Itinerary of Antoninus it is simply termed Columna; but in the inscription relative to the Via Aquilia, Statua. The most prevalent and best grounded opinion, seems to be that which identifies this spot with the modern site of *la Catona* [k].

Posidonium.

Strabo mentions, in connection with the Columna, the Posidonium, which we may suppose to have been a temple consecrated to Neptune [l]. (VI. 257.)

Rhegium.

Rhegium, now *Reggio*, one of the most celebrated and flourishing cities of Magna Græcia, is known to have been founded nearly 700 years A. C. by a party of Zanclæans from Sicily, together with some Chalcidians of Eubœa, and Messenians from Peloponnesus. (Antioch. Syrac. ap. Strab. VI. 257. Heracl. Pont. Frag. 25. Pausan. IV. 23.)

Εἶτ' εἰσὶ Ῥηγῖνοι, πόλις τε Ῥήγιον,
Ὅθεν ἐστὶν ἐγγυτάτω πλέοντι διάβασις
Ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν· Χαλκιδεῖς τε Ῥήγιον
Ἀποικίσαι δοκοῦσιν. SCYMN. CH. v. 308.

[h] Barr. l. ii. c. 19. Acet. Not. ad eund. Fazell. Rer. Sicul. Dec. I. l. ii. c. 1. Cluver. Ital. Antiq. II. p. 1294. D'Anville, Anal. Geogr. de l'Ital. p. 259.

[i] Adnot. p. 301. Cf. Romanelli, t. i. p. 81.

[k] Barr. l. ii. c. 20. Holsten. Adnot. p. 301. Romanelli, t. i. p. 83.

[l] Cellar. Geogr. Ant. l. ii. c. 9. Mazzocchi, in Tab. Heracl. Diatr. I. c. 5.

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This city may however lay claim to a more remote origin, if it be true, as Cato affirmed, that it was once in the possession of the Aurunci. (ap. Val. Prob. Ecl. et Fragm. Hist.) According to Æschylus, as quoted by Strabo, the name of Rhegium was supposed to refer to the great catastrophe which had once separated Italy and Sicily.

. . . . . ἀφ' οὗ δὴ Ῥήγιον κικλήσκεται.

Hæc loca vi quondam, et vasta convolsa ruina
(Tantum ævi longinqua valet mutare vetustas!)
Dissiluisse ferunt, quum protenus utraque tellus
Una foret: venit medio vi pontus, et undis
Hesperium Siculo latus abscidit, arvaque et urbes
Littore diductas angusto interluit æstu.

ÆN. III. 414.

That geographer suggests, as his own opinion, that this term was derived from the Latin word Regium; and thus considers it as only expressive of the importance and dignity of the town to which it was attached [m]. (VI. 257.)

We may collect from different passages, that the constitution of Rhegium was at first an oligarchy under the superior direction of a chief, who was always chosen from a Messenian family [n]. (Strab. loc. cit.) Charondas, the celebrated lawgiver of Catana in Sicily, is also said to have given laws to the Rhegians. (Heracl. Pont. loc. cit. Ælian. Var. Hist.

[m] It appears from the more ancient coins of Rhegium, that the original name of this city was RECION. In these the epigraph is REC. RECI. RECINOS, in characters partaking more of the Oscan than the Greek form. Those of a more recent date are decidedly Greek, PHΓ. PHΓINΩN being inscribed on them. Sestini, Monet. Vet. p. 18.

[n] Heyne, Opusc. Acad. t. ii. p. 270. Sainte Croix, Mem. sur la Legisl. de la Grande Grece, Acad. des Inscript. vol. xlii. p. 312.

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III. 17. Aristot. Polit. II. 10.) This form of government lasted nearly 200 years, until Anaxilaus, the second of that name, usurped the sole authority, and became tyrant of Rhegium about 496 years A. C. (Antioch. ap. Strab. loc. cit. Aristot. Polit. V. 12.)

Under this prince, who, though aspiring and ambitious, appears to have been possessed of considerable talents and many good qualities, (Justin. IV. 2.) the prosperity of Rhegium, far from declining, reached its highest elevation. Anaxilaus having succeeded in making himself master of Messana, in conjunction with a party of Samians who had quitted their country, which was then threatened with the Persian yoke, (Herod. VI. 23. Thuc. VI. 5.) confided the sovereignty of that important town to his son Cleophron. (Schol. ad Pind. Pyth. II. 34.) His views were next directed against the Locrians, and it is probable that here also he would have been successful, having already obtained a decided advantage over them in the field, and had proceeded further to lay siege to their town, (Justin. XXI. 3.) when he was compelled to withdraw his forces by the interference of Hiero, king of Syracuse, whose enmity he was unwilling to incur. (Schol. ad Pind. loc. cit.) We are informed by Herodotus, that prior to these events, Anaxilaus had urged the Carthaginians to invade Sicily, in order to restore his father-in-law Terillus, tyrant of Himera, who had been expelled from thence by Gelon. (Herod. VII. 165.) Anaxilaus is said to have gained a prize at the Olympic games, in a race of chariots drawn by mules; on which occasion Simonides composed an ode, beginning with Χαίρετ' ἀελλόποδων θύγατρες ἵππων.

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(Heracl. Pont. Polit. p. 215. Aristot. Rhet. III. 2. Polluc. Onom. V. 75.) He reigned eighteen years, and on his death intrusted the sovereignty to Micithus, his minister and chief counsellor, until his sons should arrive at a proper age to undertake the direction of affairs. Micithus, as we have already seen, founded Buxentum in Lucania; he also made an alliance with the Tarentines, and furnished them with an auxiliary force of three thousand men in their war with the Iapygians, which, as we learn from Herodotus, was attended with so disastrous a result. Not long after, he resigned the reins of government to the sons of his former patron, and retired to Tegea. He is said to have decorated the temple of Olympia with numerous statues executed at his own expense. (Herod. VII. 170. Diod. Sic. XI. 66. Pausan. Eliac. V. 26.)

About six years after his resignation, the Rhegians succeeded in recovering their liberty, and freeing themselves from the tyrannical government of the sons of Anaxilaus. (Diod. Sic. XI. 76.) The city, however, remained long a prey to adverse factions, and it was not till it had undergone various changes and revolutions in its internal administration, that it obtained at last a moderate and stable form of government[o]. (Thuc. IV. 1. Justin. IV. 3.)

The connexion which subsisted between Rhegium and the Chalcidian colonies in Sicily, induced its inhabitants to take part with the Athenians in their

[o] Morisani, Inscript. Rhegin. Marmor. I. dissert. i. Heyne, Opusc. Acad. t. ii. p. 270. et seq. Sainte Croix, Mem. sur la Legisl. de la Grande Grece, vol. xlii. p. 312. et seq.

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first hostilities against the Syracusans and Locrians; the latter indeed proved their constant enemies, and sought to injure them by every method in their power. (Thuc. IV. 24.) In the great Sicilian expedition the Rhegians observed a strict neutrality; for though the Athenian fleet was long moored in their roads, and its commanders employed all the arts of persuasion to prevail upon them to join their cause, they remained firm in their determination, and refused to admit the army within their walls; it encamped therefore near the temple of Diana, outside the town, from whence it derived its supplies. (Thuc. VI. 44.) The same firm policy seems to have directed the counsels of the Rhegians, at the time that Dionysius the elder was meditating the subjection of Sicily and Magna Græcia. They constantly opposed the designs of that tyrant, and when under pretence of courting their alliance he sought a consort from their city, they with true republican spirit replied, that he might have their hangman's daughter. (Strab. VI. 2. Diod. Sic. XIV. 44.) Had the other states of Magna Græcia displayed the same energy, the ambitious views of this artful prince would have been frustrated; but after the defeat experienced by their forces on the Elleporus, they offered no further resistance; and Rhegium, being thus left unsupported, was compelled, after a gallant defence of nearly a year, to yield to the Sicilian forces. History records the heroic conduct of Phyton, the commander of the town, and also the infamy of the execrable tyrant who insulted over his misfortunes, and sentenced him to a cruel death. (Diod. Sic. XIV. 112.) The few inhabitants who escaped from famine and the sword were

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removed to Sicily, and the place was given up to pillage and destruction. Some years after, it was however partly restored by the younger Dionysius, who gave it the name of Phœbia. (Strab. VI. 258.) During the war with Pyrrhus, this city was seized by a body of Campanians, who had been stationed there as a garrison by the Romans, and was in consequence exposed to all the licentiousness and rapacity of those mercenary troops. The Roman senate at length freed the unfortunate citizens from their persecutors, and consigned the latter to the fate which they so justly merited. (Strab. loc. cit. Polyb. I. 7. Liv. Epit. XII. and XV.)

The town of Rhegium sustained great injury at a later period from the repeated shocks of an earthquake, which occurred not long before the Social war, or ninety years A. C. It was in consequence nearly deserted when Augustus, after having conquered Sextus Pompeius, established there a considerable body of veteran soldiers for his fleet; and Strabo affirms, that in his day this colony was in a flourishing state. (VI. 259. App. Civ. Bell. IV. 86.) Hence also the appellation of Julium, which later authors have applied to designate this town [p]. (Ptol. p. 62.) Few cities of Magna Græcia could boast of having given birth to so many distinguished characters as Rhegium; (Strab. loc. cit.) whether statesmen, philosophers, men of literature, or artists of celebrity. Among the first were many followers of Pythagoras, who are enumerated by Jamblichus in his life of that philosopher. Theagenes, Hippys,

[p] See also a curious inscription, cited by Barrio, Panvinius, and Romanelli, t. i. p, 86.

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Lycus, surnamed Butera, and Glaucus, were historians of note; Ibicus, Cleomenes, and Lycus, the adoptive father of Lycophron, poets; whose works were well known in Greece [q]. Clearchus and Pythagoras are spoken of as statuaries of great reputation; the latter indeed is said to have even excelled the famous Myron [r]. (Plin. XXXV. 8. Pausan. VI. 4.)

Rhegium promontorium.

The promontory, now called *Pittaro*, appears to have anciently derived its name from the town of Rhegium. Thucydides describes it, as the nearest Italian headland to Sicily. (IV. 24. and VI. 44. Cf. Scylac. Peripl. p. 4.)

Leucopetra Promontorium.

The more celebrated Cape of Leucopetra was regarded, by all ancient writers on the geography of Italy, as the termination of the Apennines. Strabo asserts, that it was distant fifty stadia from Rhegium; (VI. 259.) but this computation ill accords with that of Pliny, (III. 10.) who removes it twelve miles from thence. (Cf. Cic. Phil. I. 3. Mel. II. 4.) The error probably lies in the text of the Greek geographer, as there is no cape which corresponds with the distance he specifies. Topographers are not agreed as to the modern point of land which answers to the Leucopetra; some fixing it at *Capo Pittaro* [s], others at the *Punta della Saetta* [t], and others again at the *Capo dell' Armi*. The latter opinion seems more compatible with the statement of Pliny, and is also the most generally accredited [u].

[q] Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. vol. i. passim.

[r] Winckelmann, Hist. du dessin chez les Anc. t. iii. 6.

[s] D'Anville, Anal. Geogr. de l'Ital. p. 261.

[t] Grimaldi, Annal. del. Regn. di Nap. t. i. Introd. c. 28. Romanelli, t. i. p. 97.

[u] Cluver. Ital. Antiq. II. p. 1299. Holsten. Adnot. p. 302. Cellar. Geogr. Ant. l. ii. c. 9. See

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The cape which Sallust termed Brutium promontorium, (ap. Serv. ad Æn. III. 400.) should perhaps be identified with the Leucopetra [x].

What relates to the interior of the Brutian territory will not detain us long.

In the northern part we may notice a few small places, mentioned by Livy towards the close of the second Punic war. (XXX. 15.) Vergæ is supposed to be the present *Roggiano*, on the left bank of the Crathis, and Uffugum *Fagnano* [y]. Somewhat higher up in the valley of that river stood Hetriculum, which may be placed at *Latarico*, Syphæum at *Montalto*, and Argentanum at *Argentina* [z]. On the right bank of the Crathis, Besidiæ probably corresponds with the site of *Bisignano* [a]. Near this town must have been situated the district named Tauriana by Strabo, and which he describes as lying above the ancient Thurii. (VI. 254.) A curious inscription, relative to the famous Bacchanalian conspiracy, (Liv. XXXIX. 8.) discovered at *Tiriolo*, a hamlet in this vicinity, in 1640, satisfactorily proves this point of topography from its mention of the Ager Teuranus, as the spot where this decree of the Roman senate was to be made public [b].

Vergæ. Uffugum. Hetriculum. Syphæum. Argentanum. Besidiæ. Taurianus Ager.

Near the source of the Crathis *Cosenza* represents Consentia, a town of greater note, and designated by Strabo as the capital of the Brutii. (VI. 255.) It was taken by Hannibal after the surrender of

Consentia.

also the notes to the French Strabo, loc. cit.

[x] Cluver. Ital. Ant. II. p. 1300. Cellar. loc. cit.

[y] Barr. l. ii. c. 5. Holsten. Adnot. p. 307.

[z] Barr. loc. cit. Holsten. loc. cit. Romanelli, t. i. p. 114.

[a] Barr. loc. cit. Cluver. Ital. Ant. ii. p. 1317.

[b] Leandr. Albert. Descriz. di tutt. l'Ital. fol. p. 223. Romanelli, t. i. p. 103.

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Petilia, (Liv. XXIII. 30.) but again fell into the hands of the Romans towards the end of the war. (XXIX. 38. Cf. App. II. Plin. III. 5. Ptol. p. 67.)

At no great distance from this city was Pandosia, anciently possessed by the Œnotri, as Strabo reports, but better known in history as having witnessed the defeat and death of Alexander, king of Epirus. I have already had occasion to observe, that there was another town of this name in Lucania, not far from Heraclæa; but we have the authority both of Strabo and Livy to justify the conclusion, that the event alluded to occurred in the territory of the Brutii. The former clearly describes the Pandosia in question, as a town of that people situated a little above Consentia; (VI. 255.) and the Roman historian, in his detailed account of the catastrophe which befell the Grecian prince, evidently leads us to infer that it took place in their country, and near Consentia. Livy elsewhere also unites the mention of this last town with Pandosia, and expressly states, that they were both included in the possessions of the Brutii. (XXXIX. 38. Cf. Steph. Byz. v. Πανδοσία.) We cannot therefore, I apprehend, refuse our assent to such testimony; and if that which establishes the existence of a Pandosia in Lucania is equally convincing, we must, with Mazzocchi, Quattromani, Holstenius, and Grimaldi, recognise two cities of this name in southern Italy. Cluverius discovered, with his usual penetration, that the Pandosia which is the object of our present inquiry must have belonged to the Brutii; but he was not aware of the existence of the Lucanian town of the same name, as the Heraclæan Tables, which principally attest that fact, had not yet been discovered; and from that cir-

Pandosia Brutiorum.

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cumstance overlooked likewise the passage in Plutarch, which harmonizes with that interesting document.

The precise position, however, which ought to be assigned to the Brutian Pandosia, remains yet uncertain. The early Calabrian antiquaries placed it at *Castel Franco*, about five miles from *Cosenza* [c]. D'Anville lays it down, in his map of ancient Italy, near *Lao* and *Cirella*, on the confines of Lucania. Cluverius supposes that it may have stood between Consentia and Thurii [d]; but more modern critics have, with greater probability, sought its ruins in a more westerly direction, near the village of *Mendocino*, between Consentia and the sea, a hill with three summits having been remarked there, which answers to the fatal height pointed out by the oracle,

Παυδοσία τριχόλωνε, πολύν ποτε λαὸν ὀλέσσεις.

together with the rivulet *Maresanto*, or *Arconti*, Acheron fl. which last name recalls the Acheron, denounced by another prediction as so inauspicious to the Molossian king. It unites with the Crathis near Cosenza [e]. (Plin. III. 5.) In confirmation of this opinion I may observe, that Scylax, in his Periplus, evidently places Pandosia near the western coast, together with Clampetia and Terina [f]. (Peripl. p. 4.) On the other hand, Scymnus of Chios (v. 325.) asserts, that it stood on the eastern coast between

[c] Barr. l. ii. c. 5. Maraf. l. iv. c. 20. Acet. Not. ad Barr. loc. cit.

[d] Ital. Antiq. II. p. 1318.

[e] Holsten. Adnot. p. 308. Quattrom. ad Barr. loc. cit. Mazzocchi Prodr. ad Tab. Heracl. diatr. 2. p. 102. Grimald. Annal. del Regn. di Nap. t. iii. p. 114.

[f] In the text we read Παυδοσία, Πλαταίεις, Τερίνα; but Gronovius, with great probability, thinks it should be Παυδοσία, Κλαμπετία, Τερίνα. Annot. in Scyl. p. 4.

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Crotona and Thurii: he may however have alluded to the other Pandosia, as he seems to connect it with Metapontum. Pliny states, that Theopompus spoke of the death of Alexander, as having occurred near Pandosia in Lucania [g]. (III. 11.)

To the south of Consentia, the country of the Brutii was formerly covered with a vast extent of forest, known by the name of Sila. These woods, which consisted chiefly of fir, were celebrated for the quantity of pitch which they yielded. Pliny, (XV. 7.) Columella, (XII. 20.) Dioscorides, (I. 98.) and many other writers, have noticed the pix Brutia [h]. Strabo describes the Sila as occupying an extent of 700 stadia, or eighty-seven miles, from the neighbourhood of Rhegium northwards. (VI. 260. Plin. III. 11.) Virgil has also alluded to it in a beautiful passage. Sila Silva.

> Ac velut, ingenti Sila, summove Taburno,
> Cum duo conversis inimica in prœlia tauri
> Frontibus incurrunt, pavidi cessere magistri;
> Stat pecus omne metu mutum —
>
> Æn. XII. 715.

These immense forests may probably in ancient times have furnished the Tyrrheni with timber for their fleets, as we know they afterwards did to the sovereigns of Sicily, and to the Athenians. (Thuc. VI. 90. Athen. V. 43.)

The only town of note which the Brutii appear to have possessed in this district was Mamertium, Mamertium.

[g] The Greek coins, with the epigraph ΠΑΝΔΟ. and ΠΑΝΔΟΣΙΣ. are referred by Sestini to the Lucanian city. (Monet. Vet. p. 18.)

[h] Many other authorities will be found in Bochart, who looks upon the Brutii as a people known to the Phœnicians at a very remote period. Canaan, p. 595.

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placed by Strabo apparently in the interior of the province above Locri and Rhegium. (VI. 261.) But though this writer has ascribed it to the Brutii, it is more natural to suppose that it was a colony of those Campanian mercenaries who derived their name from Mamers, the Oscan Mars, and are known to have served under Agathocles and other princes of Sicily. Here they seized upon the town of Messana by surprise, which circumstance gave rise to the second Punic war. (Fest. v. Mamertini. Diod. Sic. Excerpt. XXI. 13. Polyb. I. 8.) We know that the Mamertini were employed by the Romans against Pyrrhus, whom on his return from Sicily into Italy they ventured to attack in the woods and defiles above Rhegium. (Plut. vit. Pyrr.) Stephanus Byz. has also named Mamertium. (v. Μαμέρτιον.) Barrio and other native antiquaries have identified this ancient town with the site of *Martorano*[h]; but this town, which is situated between *Nicastro* and *Cosenza*, seems too distant from Locri and Rhegium to accord with Strabo's description. The majority of modern topographers, with Cluverius at their head, place it at *Oppido*[i], which is an episcopal see, situated above Reggio and *Gerace*, and where old coins, appertaining to the Mamertini, are said to have been discovered[k]. Several remains of antiquity are also reported to exist in the vicinity of *Oppido*, on the site called *Mella*[l]. But the

[h] Barr. l. ii. c. 10. Maraf. l. iii. c. 25.

[i] Cluver. Ital. Ant. II. p. 1320. D'Anville, Geogr. Anc. fol. p. 58. Romanelli, t. i. p. 101.

[k] Those coins, the existence of which is not most satisfactorily established, are stated to have the epigraph MAMEPTINΩN BPETTIΩN. Magnan, Num. Brutt. Romanelli, t. i. p. 100.

[l] Grimaldi, Annal. del Regno di Nap. Introd. t. i. c. 13.

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mention of this name suggests a doubt whether we ought not to place there a colony of Locri, incidentally alluded to by Thucydides in the fifth book of his history, and which has not, to my knowledge, been mentioned by any writer on the ancient geography of Italy. He states, that the Locrians, who had been at first engaged in hostilities with the Athenians, and had even refused to join in the treaty of peace which was concluded between that people and the Syracusans, afterwards gladly consented to a truce, as they found themselves involved in a war with the Melæans and Itoneans, their colonists and neighbours. (V. 5.) We have therefore good reason for supposing that the ruins, which have been observed at *Mella*, are those of a Greek city named Melæ, though, as it afterwards doubtless fell into the hands of the Brutii, it may have changed its name to Mamertium. Melæ.

Itone, which has been equally disregarded by antiquaries, stood probably to the south-west of *Mella*, as this appears to have been in the line of the Locrian colonies, which reached as far as Hipponium and Medma on the Tyrrhenian sea. Among several towns of this name, enumerated by Stephanus Byz. in different countries, we find one set down as belonging to Italy. (v. Ἴτων.) Itone.

The situation of Tisia, which Appian notices as appertaining to the Brutii, in his account of the Hannibalic war, remains undetermined. (Cf. Steph. Byz. v. Τισία.) This town may perhaps be identified with the Isia, or Asia, of Diodorus Siculus, which he refers also to that people [m]. (Excerpt. XXXVII. 1.) Tisia.

[m] Cluver. Ital. Antiq. II. 1320.

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Cleta. Cleta, according to tradition preserved by Lycophron, was founded by an Amazon of that name, and seems to have been situated on the confines of the Crotoniat territory, for the poet represents it as having been conquered by that republic.

> Κροτωνιᾶται δ' ἄστυ πέρσουσίν ποτε
> Ἀμαζόνος, φθέρσαντες ἄτρομον κόρην
> Κλήτην, ἄνασσαν τῆς ἐπωνύμου πάτρας. v. 1002.

Barrio is the only antiquary who has ventured to assign a determinate situation to this obscure town; he places it at *Pietramala*, on the right bank of the *Savuto* above *Amantea* [n]. Badiza, named by Stephanus Byz. (v. Βαδιζα.) among the towns of the Brutii, on the authority of Polybius, is entirely unknown, unless we suppose it to be the same as the Besidiæ of Livy [o].

Badiza.

Many other insignificant places are enumerated by Stephanus Byz. as belonging to the Œnotrians, which it is impossible at the present day to recognise with certainty, though the attempt has been made by the early geographers of Calabria. Thus Ixias, Menecina, Cyterium, and Arintha, have been respectively placed by Barrio and Quattromani at *Carolei*, *Mendocino*, *Cerisano*, and *Rende*, in the vicinity of *Cosenza* [p].

Ixias, Menecina, Cyterium, Arintha.

Acra. Acra is supposed to be *Acri*, to the south-east of *Bisignano* [q].

Balbia. Balbia, also noticed by Pliny (XIV. 6.) and Athe-

[n] Barr. l. ii. c. 9.

[o] See Scwheighæuser's notes to Polybius, l. xiii. c. 10.

[p] Barr. l. ii. c. 9. and c. 5. Quattrom. Not. ad loc. cit. Romanelli, t. i. p. 3.

[q] Barr. l. v. c. 5. Acet. et Quattrom. Not. ad eund. loc. cit.

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næus, (I. 48.) for its wine, is now *Alto monte*, near the sources of the *Cochile*, according to Barrio and Aceti[r]. Ninæa and Artemisium are represented by *S. Donato* and *S. Agata* in the same vicinity[s]. I find nothing said of Erimon and Sestium, classed like the former among the inland towns of the Œnotri by Stephanus Byz. chiefly on the authority of Hecatæus; this last circumstance is interesting, as a proof how diligent the Greeks were in their geographical researches even at the early period when that ancient historian flourished, and how accurate was the knowledge they possessed of this southern portion of Italy.

Ninæa. Artemisium. Erimon. Sestium.

ROMAN WAYS.

The continuation of the Via Aquilia, which in the last section was brought down to the borders of the Brutian territory, is thus detailed in the Antonine Itinerary:

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Submurano	*Castrovillari*	
Caprasias	*Tarsia*[t]	XVI.[u]
Consentiam	*Cosenza*	XXVIII.
ad fl. Sabbatum	*Savuto*	XII.[x]
ad Turres	*Maida*[y]	XVIII.
ad fl. Angitulam	*Angitola*	XIII.
Nicoteram	*Nicotera*	XXV.
ad Mallias	*Melia*	XXIV.
ad Columnam	*la Catona*	VIII.[z]

We have the same route described in another part

[r] Barr. l. ii. c. 3. Acet. Not. ad Barr. loc. cit.

[s] Barr. loc. cit. Acet. et Quattrom. Not. ad loc. cit.

[t] Romanelli, t. i. p. 116.

[u] Instead of XXI.

[x] The Itinerary marks XVIII.

[y] Holsten. Adnot. p. 294. Romanelli, t. i. p. 102.

[z] The Itinerary is incorrect in reckoning XIV.

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of this Itinerary, under the head, "Iter ab urbe, Ap-"pia Via, recto itinere ad Columnam," with this difference, that it passed by Vibo Valentia, or Hipponium, now *Monte Leone*.

The Table also furnishes the following list of stations on this road, which varies a little from the preceding.

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Nerulum	*la Rotonda*	
Interamniam[a]	*Firmo* - - -	XVIII.
Caprasiam	*Tarsia* - - -	VIII.
Crathim fl.	*Crati* - - -	X.[b]
Consentiam	*Cosenza* - - -	XVIII.
Aquas Angitulas[c]	*Angitola* - -	XXXVI.[d]
Amniciam[e]	- - - - -	IV.[f]
Vibonem Valentiam	*Monte Leone* - -	X.[g]
Taurianam	*Traviano* - -	XXIII.
Arciadem fl.	- - - - -	XII.
Scyllæum[h]	*Scilla* - - -	VII.[i]
Rhegium	*Reggio* - - -	XIII.[k]

In the same guide, we find the further progress of a route, which, following the western coast, was carried on in the last section as far as Laus in Lucania.

Lao	*Scalea*	
Cerillas	*Cirella* - - -	VIII.
Clampetiam	*Amantea* - -	XL.
Tempsam	*Torre del P. del Casale*	X.

[a] Romanelli, t. i. p. 119.
[b] In the Table the name of this river is incorrectly written Crater, and the distance, instead of X. is marked XXVI.
[c] Romanelli, t. i. p. 18.
[d] The Table only gives XI.
[e] Romanelli, t. i. p. 48.
[f] The Table marks VIII.
[g] This number is wanting in the original.
[h] This station has no name affixed to it in the Itinerary.
[i] Instead of XII.
[k] The Itinerary marks XVII.

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Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Lametum fl.[l]	*Lamato* - - -	XIV.
Vibonem Valentiam	*Monte Leone* - -	XVI.
Taurianam	*Traviano* - -	XXIII.
Arciadem fl.	- - - - -	XII.
Scyllæum	*Scilla* - - -	VII.
Rhegium	*Reggio* - - -	XIII.

On the eastern coast we have also to follow the course of another Roman way, which, in the foregoing section, was detailed as far as Thurii in Lucania; this likewise terminated at Rhegium. An ancient inscription, as cited by Romanelli, informs us, that this road was regarded as a branch of the Appian way, and that in consequence of its having been repaired by Trajan, it took the name of Via Trajana[m].

The following stations and distances are marked in the Itinerary of Antoninus from Thurii.

Thuriis		
Roscianum	*Rossano* - - -	XVI.[n]
Paternum	*Ciro* - - -	XXVII.
Neæthum fl.[o]	*Nieto* - - -	XII.[p]
Targinem fl.	*Tacina* - - -	XXIV.
Scylacium	*Squillace* - -	XXII.
Cocinthum	*Stilo* - - -	XXII.
Succeianum[q]	- - - - -	XX.
Subcisivum	- - - - -	XXIV.
Altanum	- - - - -	XX.
Elleporum fl.[r]	*Callipari* - -	XXIV.
Decastadium	*Castitio*[s] - -	XXII.
Rhegium	*Reggio* - - -	XX.

[l] The Itinerary gives the name of this river under the corrupt form of Tanno. Romanelli, t. i. p. 47.

[m] T. i. p. 301.

[n] Instead of XII.

[o] In the Itinerary this name is corrupted into that of Meto.

[p] Instead of XXXII.

[q] This station with the two following are quite unknown. Romanelli, t. i. p. 302.

[r] In the Itinerary this name is written Hipporum.

[s] Cluver. Ital. Ant. II. p. 1320.

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According to the Table, we have the same road divided somewhat differently.

Ancient names.	Modern names.	Distances in Roman miles.
Thuriis		
Peteliam	*Strongoli* - -	XLVIII [t].
Crotonam	*Cotrone* - - -	XIII.[u]
Lacinium	*Capo delle Colonne* -	VI.
Castra Hannibalis	*Roccella* - - -	XXXVI.
Scylacium	*Squillace* - -	V.[x]
Caulona	- - - - -	XXX.
Locros[y]	*Pagliapoli* - -	XV.[z]
Herculeum Prom.[a]	*Capo Spartivento* -	XXIV.[b]
Leucopetram	*Capo dell' Armi* -	XX.
Rhegium	*Reggio* - - -	XII.[c]

[t] The Itinerary only furnishes XXXVIII.

[u] This number is wanting in the original.

[x] In the Table there is no indication of distance to this station.

[y] This name is written Lucis in the original.

[z] The Table marks XXX.

[a] In the original, the name affixed to this station is Scyle.

[b] Instead of LX.

[c] The Table marks only V.

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GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX.

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CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA.

VOL. I.

Page 3. line 16. *for* Ionicum *read* Ionium.
P. 35. l. 6. *for* Duria Major *read* Duria Minor; the same correction in the margin.
P. 42. note 2. *for* Ascon. Pedica *read* Ascon. Pedian.
P. 72. note 1. *for* the Roman historian Ægidius. *read* the Roman historian. Ægidius &c.
P. 218. note 1. Upon reperusing the passage in Appian to which this note refers, I am of opinion that Παλωστίνη λίμνη is the right reading. The lake is that of Pelestinum, a town in Umbria, mentioned by Pliny. See p. 278. vol. i.
P. 238. l. 8. *for* opibus *read* ossibus.
P. 311. l. 10. *for* Saleria *read* Salaria.
P. 317. l. 26. After the word *Salto* the following omission is to be supplied. "This river is thought by Holstenius (Aduot. p. 126.) and others to answer to the Telonus, rendered memorable in history by the defeat of the "consul Rutilius on its banks, in the Marsic war. (Ovid. Fast. VI. 565. "Oros. V. 14.) Cluverius however conceived the *Turano* to be the Telonus."
P. 328. l. 2. *for* lacu *read* lacus.
P. 330. l. 9. *for* Angitiæ *read* Angitia.
P. 438. l. 33. *for* cœpit *read* cepit.

VOL. II.

P. 66. l. 1. *for* Capitol *read* capital.
P. 104. l. 20. *for* satis *read* sitis.
P. 160. l. 5. *for* Eruata *read* Eruta.
P. 169. l. 22. *for* leva *read* læva.
P. 255. l. 6. *for* Frentani *read* the Frentani.
P. 278. l. 19. *for* scuttle-fish *read* cuttle-fish.
P. 313. l. 4. *for* Idumeneus *read* Idomeneus.
P. 337. l. 2. *for* Lentarnii *read* Leutarnii.
P. 376. l. 9. *for* Lacus *read* Laus.

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